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EAST AND WEST IN THE CRUSADER STATES

CONTEXT — CONTACTS — CONFRONTATIONS

III

Acta of the congress held at Herten Castle in September 2000

EDITED BY
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A.A. BREDIUS FOUNDATION



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A BYZANTINE TRAVELLER TO ONE OF THE CRUSADER STATES

W.J. AERTS*

INTRODUCTION

In 1904, the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* published a long and interesting poem of Konstantinos Manasses edited by Konstantin Horna.¹ It is the description of a journey made by Manasses as a member of a Byzantine delegation led by Johannes Kontostephanos, a cousin of the Emperor Manuel I (1143-1180), who, after the death of his first wife Irene (= Bertha of Sulzbach, d. 1160), hoped to find a second wife from within one of the crusader communities which had been established in the Near East. It is well-known that Manuel Komnenos was one of the few Byzantine rulers who pursued a pro-western policy. His first marriage to Bertha of Sulzbach, sister-in-law of Conrad III, was part of a policy of maintaining good relations with Germany in order to defy the threats of the Normans of Sicily.² However, the Second Crusade, which again passed through Byzantine territory, frustrated the effects of this policy. By recruiting a new bride from one of the crusader states, Manuel hoped to strengthen his influence in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Kingdom would then be able to take advantage of the protection of a military power closer in distance to them than were the western countries in order to defend themselves against the Muslims. In general the West was already experiencing great difficulty in sending supplies and warriors to the Near East. It seems that the advisers of the Byzantine court had two names in mind of young women who were being considered for the role of new empress, namely Melisende,³ sister of Raymond III, Count of

* For the abbreviations used in the footnotes see the end of this article.

¹ Horna, pp. 313-55.

² See *inter alia* G. Ostrogorsky and J. Hussey, *History of the Byzantine State* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 381 ff.; A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison and Milwaukee, 1964), II, pp. 417 ff.

³ Johannes Kinnamos, *Epitome (Historiae)*, ed. A. Meineke, CSHB (Bonn, 1836), p. 208, 17ff., speaks highly of the beauty of this girl, but suggests that an unexpected illness eliminated her for marriage to Manuel. Neither Manasses nor William of Tyre know anything about this. Kinnamos seems to have invented this argument for smoothing away the wavering diplomacy of the Byzantine delegation(s). Cf. also Horna, p. 317. Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J.-L. van Dieten (Berlin and New York, 1975), 117, 53 ff., does not mention the delegation to Tripoli and only refers to the marriage to Maria of Antioch.

Tripoli, and Maria, daughter of Raymond of Poitiers and Constance, the former rulers of Antioch. The choice eventually fell on the latter.⁴

The text of the poem of Manasses, titled *Hodoiporikon* (Guidebook), has come down to us in two manuscripts: Marcianus 524 (M), comprising about 300 verses from the beginning, and Vaticanus graecus 1881 (V) (from the Allatius collection), which offers the full text of about 800 verses. The quality of transmission in M is much better than in V, where some passages are missing. In V the text is divided into four books, comprising 336, 158, 106 and 194 verses respectively. It is assumed that the original text had been longer and/or more complete, and that it had been revised by Manasses himself after the negative outcome of his own delegation and the success of another delegation which had been sent to Antioch.⁵

Konstantinos Manasses is a well-known twelfth-century author. He was born in Constantinople in ca. 1130 and he ended his career as Metropolitan of Naupaktos, the town in which he died in 1187. His best-known work is his *Σύνοψις ἱστορική* (An Outline of History), a kind of world history up to 1181, in 6.733 political verses, a popular Byzantine verse type consisting of eight+seven syllables, with word accents required on the sixth and/or eighth and on the fourteenth syllable. We also recognize his hand in a romance about the *Love of Aristandros and Kallitheia*, a romance modelled on classical romances such as *Leukippe and Kleitophon* of Achilles Tatios and the *Aethiopics* (*Theagenes and Charikleia*) of Heliodorus. Unfortunately, only a series of fragments of this romance, mostly moralistic in content, have survived. Many manuscripts contain minor works such as letters and speeches. With the exception of his *Hodoiporikon*, which is composed in twelve-syllable iambic trimeters, his poetical works are all written in political verses. One can only speculate about the reason why, but after having surveyed the contents there is a reasonable supposition to be made.

The contents of the *Hodoiporikon* as we have it now are as follows: Manasses, characterising himself as an armchair scholar, falls asleep whilst reading the *Deipnosophists* of Athenaeus of Naucratis (third century A.D.) and has a dream: he will go on board ship with the cousin of the Emperor on an expedition to the Holy Land. When awake he wavers between the thoughts that "dreams are lies" and "it could be a prediction".

The dream was, of course, a prediction. It was impossible to refuse to participate in the expedition. Manasses then explains the route which would be overland via Nicaea, Iconium and Cilicia to Antioch, by ship to Sidon, Tyre, Beirut and Ptolemaïs (= Acre; Manasses' order of place-

⁴ Portraits of Manuel and Maria in I. Spatarakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1976), pls 155-7; cf. text pp. 208-10.

⁵ So Horna, p. 319. For the description of the MSS and the relation between M and V, see Horna's introduction, pp. 313-5 and 318-9.

names is respected here!) — cursed by Manasses because of its unhealthy climate —, and then to Samaria (= Sichem), apparently Melisende's current place of residence. Only here was the secret aim of the expedition made clear to the common members of the delegation. Manasses then suggests that he saw the girl, probably in a little church or chapel, and he describes her extraordinary beauty (see below for comment). It seems that a sort of draft contract was formulated, because the expedition then prepared to leave Samaria for the return journey — as Manasses had hoped — but then it is hampered by bad weather. Perhaps the delegation changed plans, for Manasses now tells that he departed from Neapolis — another name for Samaria (= Nablus) — after some time in order to visit the Holy Places in and around Jerusalem. He sees the Holy Sepulchre, Golgotha, Sion, the place of the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, Gethsemane, Bethlehem, Jericho, Nazareth, etc. Manasses cannot imagine why Christ chose to live in Nazareth with its unbearable heat, its dryness, its lack of water — water which can only be bought at a high price and is full of mud at that —, and its rocky sun-baked landscape. The first book ends with a sigh of home-sickness.⁶

The second book starts with the first stage of the journey back. However, in Tyre, also cursed for its lack of water, Manasses succumbed to a severe illness.⁷ From his description of the disease (high fevers, unquenchable thirst, colic and diarrhoea) we may conclude that it was typhus. Of course, the disease is interpreted as being a punishment for his sins, apparently fornication! The situation became so life-threatening that the leader of the delegation sent him to Cyprus. After a second crisis he eventually recovered, but his home-sickness grew. He does not make clear where he stayed on Cyprus but it was somewhere where his intellectual wants were not met. From the fact that Manasses praises the generosity of Alexios Doukas, the then governor of Cyprus, several times, we gather that his material circumstances were nothing to complain about and we may assume that Manasses was considered to be an important man to the Byzantine community.

This does not alter the fact that (in the third book) he is attacked by yet another disease, this time clearly caused by sexual activity. He describes his illness as suffering from violent pain and paresis of his

⁶ In his short survey of Manasses' poem, P. Schreiner also stresses the repeated motif of nostalgia. See P. Schreiner, "Viaggiatori a Bisanzio: Il diplomatico, il monaco, il mercante", in *Columbeis V* (Università di Genova, Facoltà di Lettere, 1993), pp. 29-39; on Manasses see pp. 34-5.

⁷ As has been said in note 3, Kinnamos mentions the unexpected illness of Melisende as a reason for the marriage to be cancelled. But it is striking how much his account agrees with what is told by Manasses of what was happening to himself. He even mentions the detail that after a temporary recovery, Melisende fell ill again. Consultation of an oracle which provides Kontostephanos with the answer "the wedding is ready, but they which were bidden were not worthy" (!) Matth. 22:8, would have brought the affair to an end.

legs. The "servants of Asclepius" are powerless. Nevertheless Manasses recovers after a therapy of hot baths, but he becomes very emaciated. The third poem again ends with an evocation of the City of Constantine.

The fourth poem begins with a cry of joy because the author sees Constantinople. But could this be a fata-morgana? Is he really there, and not on Cyprus, in Paphos, Kition, or Trimythous (now Limassol)? For the first time we now hear about place-names on Cyprus, which may imply that he indeed visited these places on the south coast during his stay in the island. On the other hand, it is quite possible that Manasses mentions the names of the well-known Cyprian cities here only to parade his knowledge. In any case, the dream motif is repeated here, but this time with a fortunate result: what he now sees is indeed Constantinople! This reassuring observation gives him the strength to continue his story with the description of the journey back. A number of obscurities emerge: it is suggested that they travel through Isauria, between Cilicia and the Taurus mountains where they pass the river Drakon (Serpent). The mentioning of this river is somewhat remarkable, the more so because other historians such as Procopius and Anna Commene locate this river in Bithynia, with the same reference to its tortuous flow. Then they cross from the town Syce in Cilicia (Manasses does not wish to say a good word about this town) to Cyprus, where much commotion has arisen as a consequence of a military attack by the Count of Tripoli,⁸ furious about the fact that the Byzantine Emperor has chosen Maria of Antioch to be his wife instead of his sister Melisende. This situation is dismissed by Manasses with the well-known Byzantine haughtiness: "how will a wingless, plucked sparrow approach the eyrie of an eaglet?", or "how will a small hind frighten a furiously roaring big lion?" It seems, however, that this situation had caused a problem for the leader of the delegation, who had much trouble in escaping from the hands of the Tripolitans. He manages to arrive on Cyprus with the effect that Manasses' illness disappears as if by magic. At last they can set out on the journey back. In the relief of this moment Manasses remembers an incident which happened to him during his stay on Cyprus: On Whit-sunday he goes to church. While standing there a Cypriot peasant comes in with the putrefying stench of alcohol and garlic on his breath. First, Manasses asks the man politely to move on but the peasant does not react. Manasses asks for a second time, this time more loudly. The man remains unmoved. This makes Manasses so angry that he balls his fist and strikes the man's cheek with all his force. "This moment finally

⁸ This attack and the attacks that followed were so serious that, in 1169, the Cypriots were unable to fulfil their obligations to King Amalric to send sufficient supplies in the context of his anti-Arabic actions: see Costas P. Kyrris, *History of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1985), p. 210.

dung-eater pissed off", to use Manasses' own words. This remarkable incident could in all probability be explained by the peasant being deaf or not understanding the refined Constantinopolitan language of Manasses and not having a high opinion of this man from the capital! Manasses, however, continues his complaints about Cyprus: the person trapped there has little chance of escaping, it is a fortress and comparable with Hades! Besides, the one who leaves the island runs the risk of being captured by pirates, who, in their behaviour, are even worse than the devils in hell!

But be that as it may: Manasses safely returned to his beloved Constantinople with the help of Christ, who may also have helped him to escape from all the other dangers of life.

So much for the narrative contents of the poem. In the first place I would say that it is clearly an egocentric document. The greatest part deals with the author's sufferings on Cyprus. In contrast to another work, the famous Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas, who recorded the acts of the first Lusignan rulers on Cyprus and speaks of the sweet land of Cyprus, the ordeal of Manasses is very unfavourable to the island. More interesting is his description of the route to and from the Holy Land making clear that the greatest part of the journey was made on land, apparently because the sea route was too dangerous due to pirates. The poem also offers a glimpse of Byzantine diplomacy. The expedition, which took place in 1160-1161, was sent to Palestine with a special goal, but it was obviously only the leader of the delegation who was aware of that goal; the other members of the delegation heard about the mandate only on their arrival in Palestine and, even then, only after they had complained to the leader, demanding to be informed about the mission's details. Manasses' description of a number of places he visited⁹ and of the climate of these places is also very interesting. His apparent home-sickness was clearly at the root of his generally unfavourable impression of the Holy Land. His compassion and admiration for Christ, who chose this land to bring about the redemption of mankind, is rather comical. It is a pity that we hear nothing about the negotiations, where they were held, or who were the negotiators, nor whether there was any result and on what terms. Other sources provide us with the information that the negotiations first took place in Tripoli and later with King Baldwin in Jerusalem, who himself was in favour of a marriage to Melisende as he feared the dominant position in the region of the Byzantines in the event of Manuel's marriage to a countess from Antioch. Manasses' poem says nothing about another

⁹ The description of Manasses has nothing to do with descriptions such as those that have been gathered in J. Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages: A Case for Computer-Aided Textual Criticism* (Hilversum, 1994).

parallel delegation to Antioch. From other sources we know that that delegation stood under the leadership of Basileios Kamateros.¹⁰ It seems probable that the delegations were sent out independently with the Emperor's intention of making a definite choice after checking the possibilities. The remark about the furious attack of the Count of Tripoli on Cyprus makes clear that the arrangements of the Kontostephanos delegation with Baldwin and the Count of Tripoli about the wedding with Melisende were already far advanced before being cancelled.

Unfortunately, Manasses' fourth poem 36-43 is very obscure. One may suppose that these verses are the residue of a passage which was originally more detailed. Horna assumes that Manasses, having been cured by means of the warm baths, joined the returning delegation, which for some reason returned from Isauria to Cyprus. He is puzzled by the fact that no indication of departure from and returning to Cyprus is given. Manasses' information about Kontostephanos' coming to Cyprus (IV, 72) makes it clear that Cyprus was the final point of departure to Constantinople. If the Isauria episode makes any sense, one of the following chains of events becomes imaginable: Manasses was not the only member of the Kontostephanos delegation who stayed on Cyprus. On hearing that another delegation at Antioch had secured favourable results, they attempted to join this second delegation in Isauria; or, Kontostephanos, feeling that his negotiations might fail, sent (a number of members of) his delegation already back through Antioch and Isauria, whereas Manasses (and others) on Cyprus were briefed to join these members. The situation turned out to be too dangerous for the carrying out of this journey, and they crossed over (back again) from Syce to Cyprus. The very mentioning of this place-name, Syce, could be used as proof that the poem originally described such an intermediate episode. This Syce is mentioned by Theophanes, 445, 17 (De Boor), as κάστρον Συκῆς, a fortress situated on the coast of Isauria or Cilicia. *Ibid.*, 446, 24-25, Syce and Cyprus are mentioned in the same breath. A similar constellation is to be found in Anna Commene xi, 10, 8: the fleet of Boutoumites sails out from Cyprus and is destroyed by a storm off Syce.¹¹ That is to say that Syce was a fairly frequently used harbour for the crossing to or from Cyprus.

Having returned to Cyprus they had to wait for Kontostephanos whose position in Tripoli (or Jerusalem) had become impossible after the tidings (or rumours) about the arrangements reached at Antioch.

¹⁰ See Kinnamos, *Epitome* (see n. 3), p. 210; Horna, p. 316.

¹¹ In his edition of Anna Commene, *Alexiade*, 4 vols, Les Belles Lettres (Paris, 1937-76), B. Leib mistakenly takes Syce (l.c.) for Sycae near Constantinople; E.R.A. Sewter in his English trans. of the *Alexiade*, Penguin Classics (Baltimore and Harmondsworth, 1969), places Syce correctly in Cilicia.

After an adventurous flight from the Crusaders' territory he eventually arrives on Cyprus.

It is also clear that the description of Melisende as given by Manasses was composed at the moment that she was still in the race. Perhaps this was the special role Manasses had to play: every day he went to a small chapel, where one might expect the girl to come one day to say her prayers. It is Manasses who informs Kontostephanos about the physical appearance of the girl. It is possible also therefore that the passage with the portrait of the girl survived.

As has been remarked above, this is the only poem of Manasses written in iambic trimeters,¹² and given the character of the poem I am convinced that the metre was chosen because it is the common metre in classical tragedy, and certainly in the "obliged" tragic messenger's accounts.

Some years ago I published a long article on written portraits in Byzantine literature,¹³ stating that two tropes of models are dominant in Byzantium: a romantic model, taken from the romance of Achilles Tatius, and a "passport"-model as used by the first Byzantine chronographer, John Malalas (sixth century). These models are in fact genre-bound: the romantic type is found in romances and some historical works, e.g. in Psellos and Anna Commene. The passport-model appears mostly in compilations of the Homeric epics, but by Malalas also for descriptions of political persons. In later Byzantine literature these models are combined. The striking thing in this poem of Manasses is that both models are applied one after the other, first the romantic model with its ideals of tall stature, white complexion, round brows, fair hair etc., then again the passport-model with its characteristically asyndetically connected adjectives, mostly beginning with εὖ- (well-).

In my translation I have tried to imitate, as far as I was able, the twelve-syllable iambic trimeters of the original. That is to say the end of the verse is always "masculine", with the accent on the twelfth syllable and/or on the tenth. The other syllables allow within the pattern of 2-4-6-8 (-10-12) accentuation some variation by means of choliambic shifts and the like. I ignored caesuras and in a number of cases I had recourse to anapaestic or dactylic feet.¹⁴

¹² The metric rules are conform to Byzantine standards. In a number of cases ο-mikron is taken long; α, ι and υ are *ancipites*. For an analysis of the metre of this poem, see Horna, pp. 319-22.

¹³ Aerts, "Das literarische Porträt", pp. 151-95.

¹⁴ I thank my colleagues Dr Peter Hatlie and Prof. Michael Metcalf for their help and suggestions for making my English text and my translation acceptable.

Τοῦ Μανασσῆ κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου εἰς τὴν κατὰ τὰ
Ιεροσόλυμα ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ.

<Λόγος πρῶτος.>

"Αρτὶ θροούσης ἐκφυγῶν ζάλης ρόφους
καὶ τὴν ἐπαφρίζουσαν ἄλμην πραγμάτων,
ῶν μοι προεξένησεν ἀπλότης τρόπου
ἀνθρωπίνης τε κακίας ἀπειρία,
μόλις προσέσχον εὐγαλήνῳ λιμένι
πλουτοῦντι τερπνήν αὔραν ἀταραξίας
καὶ δὴ βίβλων χάριτας εύρῳν ἀφθόνους
τοὺς τῶν μελισσῶν ἀπεμιμούμην πόνους.
νυκτὸς δέ μοι κάμνοντι καὶ πονουμένῳ
κάν ταῖν χεροῖν φέροντι τὸν Ναυκρατίτην
ὕπνος πελάσας καὶ βλέφαρα συγκλίνας
ἐνυπνίοις με παρέπεμψεν ἀγρίοις.

Καὶ δὴ βλέπειν ἔδοξα κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους
τὸν πανσέβαστον ἀγχίονυν Ἰωάννην,
Κοντοστεφάνων ἐκ γένους κατηγμένον,
εἰς ναῦν τριήρη βάντα συντόνῳ ρύμῃ
καὶ συνεφελκύοντα κάμε πρὸς βίαν,
εἴτα ξυναθροίζοντα καὶ στραταρχίαν,
ψιλούς, ἐνόπλους, σφενδονήτας, ἵππότας
καὶ πλῆθος ἄλλο ναυτικὸν καὶ ναυμάχον,
ώς πνευμάτων τυχόντες ἀπαλοπνόων
Ιθυτενῶς πλεύσαιεν εἰς Σικελίαν'
ῷμην γάρ αὐτὸν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους βλέπειν,
ώς καὶ στρατάρχης καὶ στολάρχης ἐκρίθη.
ῷ πᾶς τὰ λοιπὰ κλαύσομαί τε καὶ φράσω;
πολλαῖς νικηθεὶς καὶ πολυτρόποις βίαις
ἐμβὰς σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν λινόπτερον σκάφην
τὴν ἀλμυρὰν θάλασσαν ἐπλωϊζόμην.
καὶ πρῶτα μέντοι δεξιῶς ἀνηγόμην,
τοῦ πνεύματος πνέοντος ἀπαλωτέρου

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KONSTANTINOS MANASSES,
ABOUT HIS JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM (*HODOIOPORIKON*)

<first poem>

Just from the vexing noise of a big storm escaped
and from the foaming ocean of my many affairs,
to which I had been treated by my simple life
which had no knowledge of mankind's vicissitudes,
I nearly reached the harbour of tranquillity,
where richly blew a breeze of sweet untroubledness
and I had found the abundant pleasures of my books
and I was imitating so the industry of bees,
when, working hard and toiling far beyond midnight
with in my hands wrists of the man from Naukratis,
I was attacked by Hypnos, who did close my eyes
and carried off me for a ride on frightening dreams.

I got the impression in my dreams that I there saw
His clever Highness august John,¹⁵ descendant of
that famous family of Kontostephanoi:
he went on board a trireme ship in full career
and took together also me against my will,
assembled then commanders too and light-armed troops
and heavy soldiers, slingers and equestrians
and quantities of sailors and of brave marines
in order that, with friendly blowing¹⁶ favourite winds,
they would go sailing straightaway to Sicily.

I thought, I saw the man himself in these my dreams
as a commander both of army and of fleet!

Oh, how shall I bewail and tell you all the rest?

Well, being vanquished by all sorts of violence

I found myself on board with him, on sail-winged¹⁷ ship,
and so was sailing now the briny waters of the sea.

At first I liked to be transported quietly¹⁸

- a friendly wind blew softly in a friendly way,

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¹⁵ For John Kontostephanos see my Introduction.

¹⁶ ἀπαλόπνοος is a word formed by Byzantine authors. Trapp, *LBG*, quotes Prodromos, *Rhodanthe*, 4, 368; Manasses, *Σύνοψις ἱστορική*, 208; Manasses, *Aristandros and Kallithea*, frg. III, 52, 6; and this place.

¹⁷ The word λινόπτερος is taken from Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 468, "λινόπτερη
ηῆρε ναυτίλων δχήματα".

¹⁸ The passage 29-32 recalls a similar situation in the *Batrachomyomachia*, when the mouse rides on the back of the frog, happy as long as the bank is nearby but scared to death when the frog takes a leap: *Batrachomyomachia*, 67-77.

καὶ τοῦ πελάγους προσγελῶντος τῷ σκάφει.
 ἔπειτα πικρὸς λαβράσας ἀπαρκτίας
 ἔσεισε τὴν ναῦν ὃς ἐλαφρὰν φυλλάδα,
 ἥγειρε φλοίσθους κυμάτων πολυρρόθων,
 τὴν ὑγρὰν ἡγρίαινε δυσπνόις πνοαῖς·
 βρύχων ἀνεῖλκε καὶ καθεῖλκε τὴν σκάφην,
 ὃς δυστάλαντος ἄνισος ζυγοστάτης,
 ἄνω κάτω θέουσαν ἀστατουμένην·
 ἐρρήγνυ πέτραις ὄφαλοις δυσεκβάτοις
 καὶ προῦπτος ἦν κίνδυνος ἐκ τοῦ ταράχου.
 οὐκ ἦν λιμὴν εὔορμος, οὐκ ἦν εὐδία,
 οὐχ ὀλκαδοσώτειρα ναύλοχος στάσις·
 τὰ πάντα θροῦς ἦν, στρόμβος, ἀντίπνους ζάλη.
 ἐντεῦθεν ἡμῖν δειλία καὶ ναυτία
 στήθους τε παλμὸς καὶ ταραγμὸς καρδίας,
 ἔως πεσούσης τῆς πνοῆς τῆς δυσπνού
 μόλις προσωκείλαμεν ὅρμοις εὐδίοις.

Τοιαῦτα τινὰ συμπλάσας καὶ σκευάσας
 δ δυστυχῶς με συλλαβὼν ὑπνος τότε,
 γοργῶς ἀπέπτη καὶ παρῆλθεν δξέως·
 ἐγὼ δὲ νήψας καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα γυμνάσας
 πολλοὺς στεναγμοὺς ἀνέπεμψα βυθίους,
 μή μοι τὸ πικρὸν φάσμα τῶν δνειράτων
 κακὰ προμαντεύοιτο καὶ προμηνύοι.
 πάλιν δὲ πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν ἀπεμαχόμην,
 τὴν ὄψιν ἀργὴν καὶ πλάνην μόνην κρίνων,
 ψευδῶς θορυβοῦσάν με ματαίοις φόβοις.
 ἡ δ' ἦν ἀληθῆς καὶ προμηνύουσά μοι
 τῶν συμφορῶν μου τὰς θαλάσσας καὶ ζάλας.
 τί δεῖ κατατείνειν με μακροὺς λόγους;
 Ἡώς μὲν ὑπέλαμπεν ἄρτι φαιδρόχρους,
 δ δ' ἀστεράρχης καὶ φεραυγῆς φωσφόρος
 ἐκ γῆς ἀναβὰς τοῖς ἄνω προσωμίλει,
 τὸ δ' εὐθὺς εὐθὺς καὶ παρὰ πόδας φθάνει

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the sea produced a lovely smile towards the ship,
 but then broke out¹⁹ a northern storm with utmost rage,
 which shook the ship as if it were a weightless leaf
 and roused the splashing noise of furious waves,
 made wild the water²⁰ through the stormy gales.

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Roaring it dragged the vessel now here up, there down,
 just like the scales deprived of equilibrium:
 the ship ran high and low, didn't find stability.

On submarine and hardly escapable sharp cliffs
 it would break down; the dangerous turmoil was nearby!
 There was no harbour safe to moor, fine weather gone,
 no docking-place, which is salvation for a ship,²¹
 no, only din and whirligig and adverse winds.
 So, we were panic-struck and seized by seasickness,
 there was the groaning of our breast, our throbbing heart,
 until the frenzied hurricane died down
 and we could run ashore on roads by lucid sky.

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These kinds of pictures formed and showed this sleep to me,
 which at that time dragged me along annoyingly,
 but hastily then flew away and disappeared!

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Being awake and fixing whole this thing in mind
 I heaved a multitude of deeply uttered sighs:
 I feared, the bitter apparition of the dreams
 predicted and portended me disastrous things.

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But then again I would reject this argument,
 by thinking that this vision was just fast and vague
 and that it falsely frightened me with needless fears.²²
 Alas, 't was true, and it foretold me without fail
 the oceans and the heavy squalls of miseries!

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Why should I, though, prolong my words at greater length?

No sooner Dawn appeared with all its colouring
 and had the Lord of stars, bright-shining Morning Star,
 ris'n from the earth and had addressed the heaven-borns,
 than at the same time fell before my very feet

¹⁹ λαβράσας < λαβράζω. The form λαβρόματι as used in Lycophron, 260 and 705, < λάβρος in Homer, *Ilias*, B, 148, "furious" of wind or water, seems more logical. For verba derivativa on -οῦν and -άειν, see A. Debrunner, *Griechische Wortbildunglehre* (Heidelberg, 1917), pp. 99-103; 118-27. "Schallwörter" in -άειν are frequent (*ibid.*, §241).

²⁰ "τὴν ὑγρὰν ἡγρίαινε", a play on words, made possible by the itacism.

²¹ "ὅλκαδοσώτειρα ... στάσις". A new adjective on the pattern of ὀλκαδοχρίστης, a "ship-caulker", in Manetho astrologus, ed. H. Koechly (Leipzig, 1885), 4, 342.

²² Manasses more often mentions dreams, e.g. in *Aristandros and Kallitheia*, frg. viii, 152, 1 "Ονειροι γάρ ὃς τὰ πολλὰ φαντασιοκοποῦσιν, /..."

δυσάγγελον μήνυμα μεστὸν πικρίας,
 «σὺν τῷ σεβαστῷ συμπορευθῆσῃ» λέγον
 «εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ Παλαιστίνην.»
 ἔγὼ δὲ πληγεὶς ως μύωπι τῷ λόγῳ
 οὐ συνεχύθην, οὐ προήχθην δακρῦσαι,
 οὐκ ἐκβαλεῖν στάλαγμα τῶν βλεφαρίδων.
 ταῖς ἀκοαῖς γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν πικρὸς λόγος
 ψυχήν τε νεκροῖ καὶ ψύχει τὴν καρδίαν
 καὶ δακρύων μὲν ἀποκόπτεται ρύμη,
 οἱ δὲ βρυχηθμοὶ δραπέται καὶ φυγάδες·
 φροῦδος στεναγμός, ἄλαλον δὲ τὸ στόμα;
 καὶ γοῦν τὰ πολλὰ τί μάτην περιπλέκω;

Τῆς γλυκυτάτης ἀπάρας βασιλίδος
 εἴδον Νίκαιαν κάλλος αὐχοῦσαν τόπου,
 εἴδον πελάγη λιπαρῶν πεδιάδων,
 πόλιν μυριάνθρωπον Ἰκονιέων.

Κιλικίας ἔβλεψα τὴν κατοικίαν
 καὶ τὰς ὅπ' αὐτὴν εὐφοριστάτας πόλεις,
 καλὰς μὲν ἰδεῖν, καλλίους δὲ τὰς θέσεις.
 εἰς ὅψιν ἥλθεν Ἀντιοχέων πόλις,
 ἡ φαιδρότης, ἡ τέρψις, ἡ κοσμιότης
 χωρῶν ἀπασῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν.
 ἐνωπτρισάμην καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῆς Δάφνης,
 κατετρύφησα ναμάτων Κασταλίας,
 νεκταρέων μὲν καὶ γλυκυτάτων πίνειν,
 ψυχρῶν δὲ θίγειν καὶ διειδῶν τὴν θέαν.
 τί δεῖ διαγράφειν με τὰς πάσας πόλεις,
 Σιδῶνα, Τύρον, λιμένας Βηρυτίων,
 Πτολεμαΐδα τὴν φονεύτριαν πόλιν;

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the fatal message²³ full of awful bitterness,
 that said: "You shall accompany His Highness towards
 Jerusalem and to the land of Palestine."

I felt myself just struck by blindness by this word
 but I controlled myself and did not start to cry
 nor from my eyelids did I drop one single tear!

For, when a bitter word invades the mind by ear,²⁴
 it kills the soul and wraps the heart up in a chill.

Therefore, the stream of tears is totally cut off
 and all the lamentations go away in banishment,
 gone is the moaning and the mouth left without speech.

However, why should I embrace these useless words?

Off from my dearest city, the imperial,
 I saw Nicaea, boasting of its pretty site,²⁵
 I saw the seas of fertile and fruitbearing plains,
 I saw the town of countless men,²⁶ Iconium,
 I got to see the dwellings of Cilicia

and all the prosperous cities there in that district,
 lovely to see, more lovely yet for residence.
 Entered my view the city of the Antiochenes,
 its splendour, civilization and the grace

among the multitude of towns in Asia's lands.
 I had a look²⁷ at Daphne's very beauteous sight,²⁸
 pampered myself with water of Castalia's spring
 not only taking drinks from its sweet, tasty well,
 but also touching its refreshing, transparent stream.

Why should I give descriptions of each of the towns
 like Sidon, Tyrus and the harbour(s) of Beirut
 and Ptolemaïs,²⁹ city of a murderous fame,

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²³ δυσάγγελος, see Nonnos, *Dionysiaca*, 20, 184, Theodoretus, ep. 21 (4, 1082).

²⁴ 71-75. This kind of physiological or philosophical explanation is fairly popular in Manasses (*Aristandros and Kallitheia*, e.g. frg. vi, 121, 9 ff., "Ἐν δυσκομίστοις δὲ κακοῖς καὶ πόνοις δυσαγκάλοις / φεύγουσι καὶ τὰ δάκρυα ..."; cf. also *ibid.*, 121a) and in Prodromos, *Katonymomachia*, e.g. 51 ff., 123.

²⁵ Strabo, ed. A. Meineke (Leipzig, 1877), 12, 7 (= 565), describes the surroundings of Nicaea as big and prosperous, "πεδίον μέγα καὶ σφόδρα εὔδαιμον".

²⁶ μυριάνθρωπος, not in LSJ, but twice in Lampe.

²⁷ Here ἐνωπτρισάμην — literally, "I saw as in a mirror" — probably means "I saw", unless Manasses did not really visit Daphne, but saw it only from a distance.

²⁸ Cf. Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnicorum quae supersunt*, ed. A. Meineke (Berlin, 1849), s.v. "Δάφνη": "Δάφνη, προάστιον ἐπισημότατον τῆς ἐών Ἀντιοχείας μητροπόλεως"; Procopius Caesariensis, *De Aedificiis*, 5, 9, 29, *Bella*, 2, 11, 4 ff.: "τότε

μὲν οὖν ἐξ Δάφνην ἀνέβη (Chosroes sc.), τὸ Ἀντιοχείας προάστειον. ἐνθα δὴ τὸ τε ἄλσος ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ἐποιήσατο καὶ τὰς τῶν ὄδάτων πηγάς· ἅμφω γὰρ ἀξιοθέατα ἐπιεικῶς ἔστι", etc. See also Strabo (see n. 25), 16, 6 (= 750), who indicates that Daphne is a small village, about 40 stades north of Antioch, with a well watered forest and an asylum dedicated to Apollo and Artemis. Johannes Phokas, who undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1176, also gives a detailed description of Antioch and its surroundings and mentions the spring Kastalia; cf. Horna, p. 348, n. ad I 84 ff. On Phokas, see H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich, 1978) I, pp. 517, 518.

²⁹ Cf. Stephanus Byzantius (see n. 28), s.v. "Πτολεμαῖς": "Πτολεμαῖς, πόλις Φοινίκης. Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ πρότερον Ἀκή, ἀπὸ τῆς ίάσεως τοῦ γενομένου δίγματος Ἡρακλεῖ ὑπὸ ὄφεως" (medieval Acco). Strabo (see n. 25), 134 (2, 39), mentions the length of daylight in these regions: "Ἐν δὲ τοῖς Πτολεμαΐδα τὴν ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ καὶ

Πτολεμαΐδα τὴν φθορᾶς ἐπαξίαν,
ἔξ ής, Ἰησοῦν, φῶς ἀειβρύτου φάους,
τὴν ἡλιακὴν ἀπομαράναις φλόγα
καὶ συσκιάσαις τὴν πανόπτριαν κόρην,
ώς μὴ ποσῶς βλέποιτο μισητὴ πόλις.
εἰς Σαμάρειαν ἥλθον, εἶδον χωρίον
πολλαῖς χαρίτων καλλοναῖς ἡνθισμένον,
χαρίεν ἴδειν, εὐφυὲς τὰ πρὸς θέσιν·
ἀήρ καθαρός, πλημμυρίδες ὑδάτων
λεπτῶν, διειδῶν, ὅγιῶν, ἀειρρύτων·
δενδρῖτις ἡ γῆ, πάμφορος, καρποτρόφος,
[πυροτρόφος, πάγκαρπος, ἀμπελοφόρος,]
ἐλαιόφυτος, λαχανηφόρος, πίων·
πεδιὰς ἵππήλατος, εὐμαρεῖς δρόμοι,
λειμῶνες ἐμπρέποντες εὐόσμοις δόδοις·
θέσις γλυκεῖα, προσφυής τῷ χωρίῳ·
εἴποις ἄν τιδών, ὃς γυνή τις φιλόπαις
γαλακτοφάγον ἀγκαλίζεται βρέφος.
ἐκεῖθεν ἥρται δυσανάβατος λόφος,
δυσέμβολος, δύσμαχος, οὐκ ἔχων βάσιν,
δέξυς, τραχεινός, εἰς μακρὸν τεταμένος.
ἐντεῦθεν ἄλλος μέχρις αἰθέρος φθάνων
πέτρας προϊσχων ἥλιβάτους,
ὅρθιος, ἀπόκρημνος, ἀνάντης λόφος.
τὸ χωρίον δὲ τοῖν δυοῖν κεῖται μέσον,
ὃς ὑπὸ μητρὸς σπαραγανούμενον βρέφος,
ῶσεὶ κορίσκη παγκάλη τηρουμένη
γυναικὶ φιλόπαιδι θαλαμευτρίᾳ.

Οὕτω μὲν εἶχεν εὐφυῶς τὰ τοῦ τόπου·
τέλος δὲ λοιπὸν εἶχεν ἡμῖν δ δρόμος
καὶ φανεροῦσθαι τὸ κρυφόν ἥρχετο.

Σιδῶνα καὶ Τύρον ἡ μεγίστη ἡμέρα ἐστὶν ὧδην ἰσημερινῶν δεκατεττάρων καὶ τετάρτου". Strabo, 758 (16, 25 and 26), makes mention of a tidal wave which caused the death of a group of soldiers. Manasses emphasizes the high mortality in Ptolemaïs once more in Poem IV, 20.

³⁰ ἀειβρύτος, see Trapp, *LBG*, s.v.

³¹ πανόπτριον κόρην. The fem. πανόπτρια with masc. πανόπτης is mentioned in Photios, *Lexikon*, ed. S.A. Naber (Leiden, 1864/65).

³² On Samaria, see Strabo (see n. 25), 760 (16, 34). Herodes gave it the name Sebaste. According to Stephanus Byzantius (see n. 28) it was renamed Neapolis (= Nablus). Procopius Caesariensis (see n. 28), 5, 7, 1 ff., uses the same name and has a detailed story

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that Ptolemaïs, which deserves its doom and gloom,
from which, my Jesus, Light of the ever-spouting³⁰ Light,

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Thou may'st make withering the fire of the sun
and shade the ever-looking, all-observing eye,³¹
lest this abominable town ever be seen!

To Samaria³² then I went and saw the spot
which flourished through so many beautiful delights,
delightful city to be seen, well-fit to stay:
clean and fresh air, the water in redundant floods,
fine, transparent and healthy, with eternal flow.

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The landscape full of trees which bear all kinds of fruit
[producing wheat, all sorts of crops, and many vines],^{32a}
growing a host of olive-trees and copious greens.

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A plain well-shaped for riding horse, convenient ways
and meadows, full of fragrant roses, richly adorned,
a sweet location, in agreement with the town.

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You might have said, if you it saw: in such a way
holds in her arms a woman her milk-sucking babe.

There rises up an inaccessible high hill,
no entrance and unconquerable, without path,
with sharp and rocky peaks, a lengthy range.

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Another hill, which has its crest up to the sky
and makes its rough steep rocks³³ extend on every side,
precipitous, with deep ravines, lies there, high-crowned.
The town itself is situated in between,
just like a babe whose mother wrapped him tightly in,
or like a lovely little girl who's taken care
of by a children-loving tender chambermaid.³⁴

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These were the fine amenities of this good place.

And here then came our journey lastly to an end
and nearer drew the secret goal to be revealed.

about Mount Garizim near Samaria. The Samaritans used the mountain for worshipping their gods, until Jesus had his talk with the Samaritan woman. In Christian times a church was built on the top of the mountain which was destroyed by the Samaritans and rebuilt by Justinian. The second mountain is Mount Ebal, see e.g. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, s.v. "Samaria" and "Palästina".

^{32a} Deleted by Horna: absent in M, but present in V.

³³ "πέτρας ... ἥλιβάτους": Homeric, e.g. *Ilias*, O, 273; *Odyssey*, 1, 243 (of the stone put at the entrance of his cave by the Cyclop).

³⁴ LSJ quotes for θαλαμεύτρια only Pollux, ed. E. Bethe (Leipzig, 1900), 3, 41, "bridesmaid", here more generally "chambermaid".

δὸς γὰρ σεβαστός, ἀκριβῶς πεπεισμένος
ἄριστον εἶναι τὸν παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ μόνῳ
μυστήριον κρύπτοντα τοῦ βασιλέως,
οὐ παρεγόμνου τὸν σκοπὸν πρὸς οὐδένα.
ἢν δὴ τὸ πᾶν βούλημα τοῦ βασιλέως
καὶ τοῦ σεβαστοῦ τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς κρυψίνουν,
καθὼς διέγνων δψὲ καὶ μετὰ χρόνον,
τῆς βασιλίσσης ἀποδούσης τὸ χρέος,
ἄλλων νέων ἔννοια παστοπηγίων.
doch γὰρ θυγατέρων μὲν ηὐπόρει δύο,
τὴν δ' ὑστέραν σφῶν εἴδεν ἐν ζόφῳ τάφου
ἐν νηπιώδει παντελῶς ἡλικίᾳ,
ἔρως παρηνώχλει δὲ παίδων ἀρρένων,
δὲν καὶ πλέον χρήζουσιν ἀρχῆς τὰ κράτη,
πρὸς δευτέρους ἔβλεψεν ἔννόμους γάμους.
καίτοι γε πολλῶν πολλὰ ποτνιωμένων
καὶ τὴν ἀνακάλυψιν ἔξαιτουμένων,
εἰς τίνα καὶ ποῦ τοῦ δρόμου τὸ γοργόπουν ...
doch οὖν λαθεῖν ἢν ἀδύνατον εἰς τέλος,
ὅτου χάριν παρῆμεν εἰς Παλαιστίνην
καὶ Σαμαρειῶν τοὺς πολυρρύτους τόπους,
ἰδεῖν τὸ κάλλος τῆς κόρης ἐγλιχόμην,
ἢν δὲ προλεχθεὶς κρυφίως ἐπετράπη
νυμφοστολῆσαι καὶ κομίσαι πρὸς γάμον
τῷ πορφυρανθεῖ Μανουὴλ τῷ δεσπότῃ.
ἐν τῇ Σαμαρείᾳ δὲ τῷ πολιχνίῳ
ἔτυχεν αὐτὴν τηνικαῦτα διάγειν.
καὶ δὴ κατεῖδον ἀλλὰ γὰρ πῶς ἐκφράσω;
Οἰκίσκος ἢν τις ἀμυδρὸν τὸ φῶς ἔχων,
κόσμον μὲν αὐχῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μῶμον φέρων
οὐ πλουσίας γὰρ εἶχεν αὐγὰς ἡλίου.
τοῦτον θαμίζων πολλάκις ἀνιστόρουν.
καὶ τὸ ζοφῶδες ἥτιώμην τοῦ δόμου·
ἀλλ', ὥσπερ ἢν σύνηθες, εἰσιόντι μοι
αἴφνης ὀράται χιονόχρωτος κόρη
καὶ τοῦ προσώπου τῆς φερανγοῦς λαμπάδος

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For he, His Highness, had thus been instructed well
that it would be the best affair that he alone
would keep the imperial mystery strictly concealed
and not reveal to anyone the purpose of the trip.
It was the absolute intent of the emperor
and of His Highness' secrecy,³⁵ kept towards us,
- that's what I understood just late after some time -
one should - because the empress paid her nature's debt -
provide for making just a new connubial bed.
He had two daughters, really a rich asset,
of whom, alas, the youngest saw the gloomy grave,
because she had already died at tender age,³⁶
but he was more concerned about male progeny,
a just necessary condition for the reigns,
all reasons why he wished a second legal match!
As many had yet often uttered loud protests
and now demanded information on the affairs,
for whose sake, for which place one had this journey made,
as 't was at last impossible to keep the case
in silence, as to why we were in Palestine
and in the richly irrigated town Samaria,
<His Highness now revealed the purpose of the trip>.³⁷
Desire welled up in me to see the pretty girl,
to whom the aforesaid had all his attention paid
in secret, for escorting her as bride to wed
her to the ruler Manuel, the purple-bloom.
This little town Samaria by coincidence
was at that time the place where she, the maiden, stayed.
And really, I saw her there. How to explain?

There was a little building, scarcely having light,
which boasted on its people, but should be reproached,
because it let not in the bright beams of the sun.
I often went inside, took information, too,
and always had to blame the darkness of the house.
But once, when I, as usual, was entering,
caught there and all at once my eye a snow-white girl.
And from the beaming torch of her so radiant face

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³⁵ τὸ κρυψίνουν, since Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, 1, 6, 27.

³⁶ The elder daughter Maria was eventually engaged to Bela-Alexius of Hungary: see John Fine, jr., *The early Medieval Balkans* (Ann Arbor, 1983, 1991 ff.), pp. 240-1.

³⁷ Horna indicates a lacuna after v. 142; I think that the lacuna (if it should be assumed) should be indicated after 145. I have added a possible supplement, *exempli gratia*.

φωτὸς πυριμάρμαρον ἐκφέρει σέλας
καὶ καταλάμπει καὶ διώκει τὸν ζόφον·
ἔφωσε, κατέπληξε, κατήστραψε με.
εἴπον καθ' αὐτὸν «μὴ κεραυνὸς εἰσέδυ,
μὴ τῆς σελήνης κύκλος εἰς γῆν ἐρρύῃ»;
ἀπαράμιλλος ἦν τὸ κάλλος ἡ κόρη,
ὑπὲρ τὸ γάλα καὶ καλὴ καὶ λευκόχρους,
ἐπίχαρις, σύμμετρος, εὔχρους, ξανθόδριξ,
ἀναδρομὴ σώματος ώραιόσμενη,
φοίνικος ἔρνος — εἶπεν ἄν τις προσφόρως —
καλόν, νεοβλάστητον, δρόθον τὴν στάσιν·
πολλὴ βαθεῖα καὶ κατάχρυσος κόμη·
εὔκυκλος δφρύς, εὐφυεῖς βλεφαρίδες·
ὅμμα προσηνές, ἵλαρόν, στίλβον χάριν·
καλὸν τὸ χεῖλος, εὐπερίγραπτον στόμα,
καλὸν τὸ χεῖλος, ὑπέρυθρον, κοκκόχρουν.
εἴ που δὲ μικρὸν μειδιᾶσαι συνέβη
διαχεθεῖσαν σωφρονικῶς τὴν κόρην,
ἰαταταὶ τὸ κάλλος οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι·
εὔτορνος ἡ ρίς, τὴν πνοὴν ἐλευθέρα·
εὔρυθμος ἡ κίνησις, εὔμετρος βάσις·
ἡθος γαληνότητι συγκεκραμένον
καὶ τηλικαύτῃ προσφορώτατον κόρη·
παίδευσις ἀσύγκριτος, εὐγενὲς γένος·
ἐξ αἵματος γὰρ Καισάρων Ἰουλίων
σκηπτροκρατούντων τῶν μερῶν τῆς ἐσπέρας.
ἀπλῶς ἀπάντων τῶν καλῶν αἱ συρμάδες,
εἰς ἐν χεθεῖσαι καὶ κραθεῖσαι παγκάλως,
ἐν μίγμα τερπνὸν εἰργάσαντο τὴν κόρην
καὶ φύσεως ἄγαλμα καὶ κόσμον γένους.

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she spread out such a shine like brightly sparkling fire
that all the darkness she outshone and drove away.
She brightened me,³⁸ astounded me, and dazzled me.
I said then to myself: "did strike a thunderbolt?
Was it the lunar disc which came down to the earth?"
The beauty of the girl was incomparable,
and her complexion very fair, whiter than milk,
both charming and harmonious, well-skinned and blond,
her stature tall and blooming, just proportionate,
a fresh young palm-tree³⁹ -as one rightly would have said -,
a beauty, newly sprouted, bolt upright indeed
with very thick and widely floating golden hair,
well-rounded brows and with well-shapèd eyelashes,
with gentle eyes, cheerful as well, and gleaming grace.
Her cheeks⁴⁰ were beautiful, her mouth so well designed,
her lips were charming, crimson, red as red could be,⁴¹
and when it happened that she showed a little smile,
the girl who was relaxed and sensible as well,⁴²
ah me! — I can't describe, how beautiful she was!⁴³
Well-arched her nose, her breathing free and regular,⁴⁴
the way she moved was delicate, steady her gait,
her temper proved a keynote of serenity,
more than should be expected of a girl so young!
And incomparably well-bred, from noble stock:
for she sprung from the Iulius Caesar families
who bear the sceptres in the countries of the West.⁴⁵
So, simply said, the threads⁴⁶ of all the beauties were
twisted together in one skein of lovely blend,
which let the maiden grow into a joyful mix
and made her Nature's statue praise her family.

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³⁸ ἔφωσε aor. from φώσκω = φαύσκω, cf. φῶς/φάος.

³⁹ See Homerus, *Odyssey*, 6, 163, "φοίνικος νέον ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον ἐνότσα".

⁴⁰ The verses 175 and 176 both start with the words "καλὸν τὸ χεῖλος", which points to a corruption. Literary portraits usually mention (the colour of) the cheeks between the eyes and mouth. Perhaps one should read in 175: "καλὸν τὸ χρῶμα", implying the common white and rosy colouring of the παρειαί or simply καλαὶ παρειαί; cf. Aerts, "Das literarische Porträt", esp. pp. 151-65 and 184.

⁴¹ The word κοκκόχρους is a neologism.

⁴² διαχθεῖσα, a late Hellenistic form = διαχνθεῖσα < διαχέομαι = be relaxed; cf. LSJ, s.v. "διαχέω 4" and "διάχνεις".

⁴³ The exclamation ιαταταὶ = Att. ιατταταῖ is taken from Aristophanes, *Equites*, 1.

The other form ιατταταῖ from the same quotation is applied by Theodoros, *Katymachia*, v. 193.

⁴⁴ The ability to breathe freely seems to have been a sign of health. In her description of Bohemund of Tarent, Anna Commena (*Alexiade*, 13, 10, 4) makes a similar remark: "Καὶ ἡ ρίς αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ μυκτὴρ ἐλεύθερον ἔπνει τὸν ἀέρα" ("His nose and nostrils freely inhaled the air").

⁴⁵ The reference to Julius Caesar implies a dynastic relationship because to the Byzantines Julius Caesar is the first Roman emperor. At the same time, the reference resuscitates the Byzantine claims to the whole (ancient) Roman Empire.

⁴⁶ The word ἡ σύρμα is mentioned in LSJ with the meaning "snowdrift". The meaning here is clearly "threads"; cf. Modern Greek (τὸ) σύρμα.

δ Μῶμος αὐτὸς ἡπόρησεν ἄν ψόγου.
 τί γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὴν Ἐλένης ἡ λευκότης,
 ἥν μῆθος ἀνέπλασεν ἐκ Διὸς φύναι;
 γένος τὸ πρῶτον, πυριμάρμαρος θέα,
 ἥ παῖς ἀπαράμιλλος, ὑψους ἀξία,
 εὔοφρυς, εὐπρόσωπος, εὐπρεπεστάτη,
 εὔοπτος, εὐπλόκαμος, εὐγενεστάτη,
 τὴν ἡλικίαν ὅρθια καὶ τὴν πλάσιν
 ὑπὲρ πλατάνους, ὑπὲρ ἀναδενδράδας.
 οὕτως ἔχουσαν κατιδών καὶ θαυμάσας
 καὶ τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἀξίαν εἶναι κρίνας
 καὶ χαριτοπρόσωπον ὃς εὐχρουστάτην,
 τὸν μὲν σεβαστὸν ἐπτέρουν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν,
 ὃς τῶν ἐπάθλων εὐπορήσει μειζόνων
 τοιόνδε δῶρον δυσπόριστον προσφέρων
 τῷ φιλοδώρῳ βασιλεῖ γῆς Αὐσόνων·
 ἐγὼ δ' ὁ ταλάντατος ὀνειροσκόπουν,
 ὃς τάχιον βλέψαιμι τὴν Κωνσταντίνου.
 ἀλλ' ἀντιπνεύσας κακίας δ' καικίας
 χειμῶνας ἐξήγειρεν ἀελλοπνόους,
 τρικυμίας φόβητρα, ναυτίας ζάλας
 καὶ βραδυτῆτας καὶ σχολάς παραλόγους.
 τί ταῦτα τλήμων εἰς μάτην καταλέγω,
 τῆς Αἰσχύλου χρήζοντα δραματουργίας
 ἢ τῆς Φρυνίχου πενθικῆς στωμολίας;
 εἰ γὰρ τὰ πάντα κατὰ λεπτόν τις φράσει,
 ὑπερβαλεῖται συγγραφὴν Θουκυδίδου.

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Even Momus⁴⁷ himself would find nothing to blame!
 For Helen's whiteness,⁴⁸ what was that with her compared,
 Helen of whom in myth was told, she was Zeus' child?
 From first-class stock, appearance sparkling like a fire,
 the girl was just unrivalled, fully worthy of her rank:⁴⁹ 195
 well-browed, well-faced, good-looking to the highest degree,
 well-eyed, well-tressed, well-born in highest nobility,
 her stature and her posture being straight and tall
 above the plane-trees or above the climbing vines!
 Such was the maiden whom I saw, whom I admired 200
 and whom I thought was worthy of the emperor,
 not only by her gracious face but colour too,
 so that I brought His Highness to excited hopes
 that in fulfilling these major tasks he would succeed
 by bringing such a gift, hardly procurable,
 to him, the generous emperor of Roman land!⁵⁰ 205
 And I, the most pitiable man, I really dreamt
 I would soon see again the City of Constantine!
 But the northeaster blew disastrous adverse winds
 and roused furiously blowing howling winter storms
 which caused terrible dash of waves that lashed the ship
 with commensurately long delays, unlooked-for halts.
 How should I, wretched man, sum up these miseries
 which need the art of tragedy of Aeschylus
 or Phrynicus's sorrowful verbosity?⁵¹ 210
 Should someone give minute descriptions of all this,
 he would surpass the Story⁵² of Thucydides. 215

⁴⁷ Momus (Blame) is mentioned by Hesiod, *Theogony*, 214, as a child of Nyx (Night): "And again the goddess murky Night, though she lay with none, bare Blame and painful Woe,..." (trans. H.G. Evelyn-White, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1974)).

⁴⁸ The later poet Hermoniakos (fourteenth century), II, 194-5, stresses the unbelievable whiteness of Helen: "εἴχε γὰρ τὴν σάρκαν δλην / ὑπὲρ χίονα λευκόχρουν" ("her body was more white than snow"); see Aerts, "Das literarische Porträt", p. 177.

⁴⁹ The following verses bring another description of the princess, this time according to the "passport-type", such as used by Malalas, Tzetzes a.o., see Aerts, "Das literarische Porträt", pp. 165 ff.

⁵⁰ "τῷ ... βασιλεῖ γῆς Αὐσόνων", a striking use of the idea Ausonia = Italy. Here again the claim to the totality of the Roman Empire emerges. The term is only scarcely used by Byzantine historians, but the idea is more often seen in Manasses' *Σύνοψις*

Ιστορική: 2550, 3294, Αὐσονάναξ; 3212, 4110, 5589, Αὐσονάρχης; 3189, 6059, Αὐσονοκράτωρ, etc.; cf. also Trapp, *LBG*, s.v. "Αὐσονάναξ". The idea is perhaps taken from Nonnos, *Dionysiaca*, e.g. 41, 389-391: "Σκῆπτρον δλης Αὐσονοστος ὅτε χθονὸς ἥνιοχεύσει / Ράμη μὲν ζαθέῃ δωρήσεται Αὐσονίος Ζεὺς / κοιρανίν" ("When Augustus shall hold the sceptre of the world, Ausonian Zeus will give to divine Rome the lordship"; trans. W.H.D. Rouse, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1984)).

⁵¹ The tragic poet Phrynicus is mentioned here together with his famous younger contemporary, Aeschylus. Here Manasses undoubtedly had in mind Herodotus, 6, 21, which recounts that Phrynicus, with his tragedy *Μιλήτου ἀλωσις* (The Sack of Miletus), moved all the spectators in the theatre of Athens to tears, for which he was fined one thousand drachmas and forbidden to stage the tragedy again. No fragment survived.

⁵² συγγραφή is the common word for "history". However, Manasses does not use the Attic form ξυγγραφή as in Thucydides, I, 98, 2.

Χρόνῳ δὲ πολλῷ καὶ μετὰ μακροὺς πόνους,
Νεαπολιτῶν τὴν πόλιν λελοιπότες,
Ίερουσαλήμ, δόλβιωτάτην πόλιν,
κατείδομεν, πλουτοῦσαν ἀσφαλῆ θέσιν
(μικροῦ γάρ ἄνευ ἀρκτικωτέρου μέρους
κοιλάς βαθεῖα, δυσανάβατος φάραγξ
δλην περιείληφε κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν).
κατησπασάμην τὸν πολύτιμον τάφον,
ἐν φ̄ δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς παρηνομηκότας
καθαπερεὶ λέοντος ὑπνώσας σκύμνος
δ χοῦν φυράσας εἰς Ἀδάμ διαρτίαν
τοῖς ἐξ Ἀδάμ ἔβλυσεν ἀειζώιαν.
τὸ Γολγοθᾶ κατεῖδον εἴδον τὰς πέτρας
τὰς πρὶν φαγείσας καὶ λυθείσας ἐκ φόβου,
ὅταν θεός μου καὶ κεραμεὺς τοῦ γένους
τὸ κοσμοσωτήριον ὑποστάς πάθος
ἐκ τῶν λίθων ἤγειρεν Ἀβραὰμ τέκνα,
τὴν συντριβεῖσαν ἀνακαινίζων φύσιν.
τὴν γῆν ἔβλεψα καὶ περιεπτυξάμην,
εἰς ἣν κατεζόφωσαν οἱ θεοκτόνοι
τὸ μακαριστὸν καὶ σεβάσμιον ἔύλον.
ἔκειθεν ἐκβὰς εἰς Σιών ἀφικόμην,
ἵτις με πολλαῖς κατέθελξε χάρισιν,
ἔκτὸς μὲν οὖσα, πλησίον δὲ κειμένη
καὶ δὴ παραγανούσα τῶν πυργωμάτων.
ἔκει κατεῖδον τὸν τρισόλβιον τόπον,
ἐν φ̄ μαθητῶν ἀπένιψε τοὺς πόδας
δ τὰς θαλάσσας χαλινῶν τὰς ἀσχέτους.
μικρὸν μεταστὰς εἴδον οἰκίσκον βραχύν,
ὅπου μαθητῶν ἡ φάλαγξ ἀπεκρύβῃ
τὴν λύσσαν ἐκφεύγουσα τῶν μιαιφόνων,
καθαπερεὶ πρόβατα τὰ χλοηφάγα,

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Much time and also many troubles were elapsed
before we left the city with the name Nablus,⁵³

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and saw the very prosperous town Jerusalem,
that holds a place which guarantees security
(for, with exception of a small part in the North,
it is surrounded by a great deep plain, a gorge,
which, hard to climb,⁵⁴ embraces whole the city round).

225

I paid my homage to the costly Holy Grave,
in which for us, who did transgress the divine law,
the One who rests asleep as a lion's cub, the One
who mixed the clay from which the limbs of Adam grew,
made sprout eternal life for those from Adam's seed.

230

I had a look at Golgotha, I saw the rocks
which in advance got rent and split simply from fear,⁵⁵
when He, my God, the Potter of men's family,
suffered the passion of salvation of mankind
and from the tombstones did arise Abraham's kin
and recreated nature which was at a loss.

235

I saw the ground and I embraced the sacred spot
there where the murderers of God had made obscure⁵⁶
the very blessed and venerable holy wood.

240

From there departed, then I went to Sion, which
enchanted me with all its charming pure delights.

It's situated outside but not far away
and nearly touching the high bulwarks of the town.
I looked there at the threefold sanctified place
where He had washed the feet of his disciples, He⁵⁷
who bridled the infinite waters of the seas.⁵⁸

245

A little further I saw, walking, the small house,
where took refuge the battle-line⁵⁹ of disciples
fearing the furious madness of the murderers,⁶⁰
just as would do a flock of meadow-grazing sheep

⁵³ The Palestinian town Nablus was founded as Νεάπολις in A.D. 72, and it was situated between Mount Eval and Mount Gerizim. See also the Madaba mosaic map: Michael Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map* (Jerusalem, 1954), pl. 6; commentary p. 45, nr. 32.

⁵⁴ For δυσανάβατος, see LSJ (one instance) and Trapp, *LBG*, s.v., where, however, our place is not mentioned.

⁵⁵ See Matth. 27:52.

⁵⁶ καταζοφώ, a neologism < ζόφος, "darkness", "obscurity". The spot mentioned points to the (apocryphal) story of the discovery of the three crosses, among which the

True Cross, by Helen, mother of Constantine the Great. For an analysis of this legend, see J.W. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: Waarheid en legende* (Groningen, 1989) (diss.); *idem, Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the legend of Her Finding of the True Cross*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 27 (Leiden, 1990).

⁵⁷ John 13:5 ff.

⁵⁸ Matth. 8:26.

⁵⁹ μαθητῶν ἡ φάλαγξ, a beautiful oxymoron to characterize the situation.

⁶⁰ John 20:19.

ἐπιδρομὴν φεύγοντα λύκων ἀγρίων,
τοῦ θηροφόντου μὴ παρόντος ποιμένος.
πῶς ἀν λαθοίμην τοῦ καλοῦ δωματίου,
ἐν φιδιαστάτως
γλώσσαις ἐπλούτισθησαν οἱ λινορράφοι
ἀνθρακομόρφοις, πυρίναις, ἀλλοθρόοις,
δις ἐσφυρηλάτησε Πνεύματος βίᾳ
ἐκ τῶν ἀφανῶν, ἐμφλόγων πυρεκβόλων;
ἐκεῖ κατεῖδον ἄλλον ἔνθεον τόπον,
ἐν φιέρ ἑξέψυξεν εἰς υἱοῦ χέρας
δ τοῦ Θεοῦ μου καθαρώτατος δόμος.
κατῆλθον ἐγγὺς εἰς μυχοὺς ὑπογνόφους,
οἵς ἐγκαθίσας δ θρασύδειλος Πέτρος
δάκρυσιν ἀπένιψε τὴν ἀμαρτάδα.
ἡ Γεθσημανὴ τῆς θεόπαιδος κόρης
τὸν τρισέραστον τάφον ὑπέδειξε μοι,
λυπρὸν μὲν ίδειν καὶ ταπεινὸν χωρίον,
ἔνδον δὲ κρύπτον ἀτίμητον λυχνίτην·
(τολμηρὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλά μοι συγγνωστέον·)
εἶπον καθ' αὐτὸν· «τοῦτο κόχλου σκληρότης,
καὶ θαλαμεύει βασιλικὴν πορφύραν·
ἡ φλοῦς τραχεινὸς δστράκου θαλαττίου,
τρέφει δὲ ἐσωθεν στιλπνότητα μαργάρου·
ἡ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν δξύτης ἀκανθίνη,
ἐν ᾧ τὸ χρυσοῦν ὑπανατέλλει δόδον.»
εἰς τὸν πολυύμνητον ἀνέβην λόφον,
ἐν φιστάς ἐνσώματος δ στήσας ὅρη
ἐπηυλόγησε τοὺς σοφοὺς ἀποστόλους
καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχίφωτον ἡρθη πατέρα.
εἰς Βηθλεὲμ παρῆλθον, εἶδον τὴν φάτνην.
τῆς Ἱεριχοῦς ταῖς καμίνοις ἐφλέγην.
εἶδον πνιγηρὰν ψαμμίνην πεδιάδα,
πεφρυγμένην, ἄνικμον, ἀπεψυγμένην,
ἐν ᾧ τοσοῦτον ἥλιον φλόξεις εἰσφλέγει,
ώς εἰς τὸν ἐγκέφαλον αὐτὸν εἰσδύνειν.

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when flying from the attack of savage hungry wolves,
because the herd, who averts the beasts, is absent now.

I didn't forget, of course I didn't, that lovely room,⁶¹
where without intermission the net-menders stayed,
until they were enriched by these miraculous,
strange-language-speaking charcoal-formed fiery tongues,
as they were forged by force of him, the mighty Ghost,
from invisible flame-projectors, throwing fire!⁶²

And yet another divine place I visited,
where in the hands of her own son the purest house,
which ever had created God, breathèd her last.

I also reached these semi-dark and gloomy⁶³ spots,
where he, the stout-faint-hearted⁶⁴ Petrus, came, sat down
and washed his sin in floods of tears, fully distressed.

Gethsemane was showing me that lovely grave
in which was laid the virgin, she, whose child was God,
a humble place and miserable to be seen,

but holding inside hidden that so precious pearl
(a just bold statement, yes, I know, forgive me, though),
on which I thus said to myself: "hard is that shell,
and it preserves the purple of imperial dress,
or, otherwise, rough oyster-shell found in the sea,
inside of which the splendour of a pearl is grown,
or, even better may be said, the pricks of thorns,
in midst of which sprang in full bloom a golden rose!"

I then ascended there the hill much-famed in song,⁶⁵
where the embodied stood, who made the mountains stand,
and gave his blessings to his wise apostles, just
before he went back to his Father, source of light.

To Bethlehem I travelled too, and saw the crib;
the furnaces of Jericho, which burnt me down!
I caught sight of the suffocating plain of sand,
parched by the sun, deprived of moisture, barren land,
in which the solar rays are oft so strong
that sunbeams really seem to penetrate the brain.

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⁶¹ See Acta Apost. 2:2 ff.

⁶² For πυρέκβολος see LSJ, quoting Alexander Aphrodisiensis, *Problemata*, 1, 38:
πυρέκβολα, "fire-throwing machines".

⁶³ ὑπόγυνοφος, a neologism, a compound of ὑπο-, "a little" (see LSJ s.v. "ὑπό F II"),
and γυνόφος.

⁶⁴ θρασύδειλος: a witty neologism to characterise the person of Peter, probably created by Manasses himself. See also Matth. 26:75.

⁶⁵ "The mount called Olivet", Acta Apost. 1:12.

Θέλω μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν τρέμω
(δοφθαλμὲ παντεπόπτα, μὴ θύμαινέ μοι)
τὴν Ἱεριχώ μηδὲ καθ' ὑπνους ἴδω.
Ὕδωρ Ἰορδάνειον ἀπενιψάμην·
Ὕδωρ κατεῖδον παντόφυρτον ἵλυϊ,
οὐκ ἀθόλωτον οὐδὲ καλὸν εἰς πόσιν,
οὐα χρόα γάλακτος ἡ τούτου χρόα·
ἀργαὶ γὰρ εἰς κίνησιν αἱ τούτου ρύσεις,
ὑπνοῦν δὲν εἴποις τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν δρόμον.
Τί ταῦτα, Χριστέ, φῶς ὑπερχρόνου φάους,
πῶς μέχρι πολλοῦ πρὸς τόπους ἀνεστράφης
ξηρούς, πνιγηρούς, φλεκτικούς, θανασίμους;
ἄν ἐννοήσω τῆς Ναζαρὲτ τὸ πνίγος,
ἐκπλήττομαὶ σου τὴν ταπείνωσιν, Λόγε.
καλῶς ἔμαρτυρησας ἀδόλως ἔχειν
τοῦ Ναθαναὴλ τὸν περὶ ταύτης λόγον·
«τί γὰρ ἀγαθὸν ἡ Ναζαρὲτ ἐκτρέφει;»
ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν, ὡς ἐπίστασαι μόνος,
ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς σοῖς σωματικοῖς ἐκλέγῃ,
εἴ τι πενιχρόν, εἴ τι τῶν ἀνωνύμων·
ἔκ μὲν ποταμῶν τὰς ῥοάς Ἰορδάνου
μηδ' ἐν ποταμοῖς συγκαταριθμούμενου,
ἔκ τῶν πολιχνίων δὲ τῆς Παλαιστίνης
τὰ λυπρότατα καὶ κατεσκληρυμμένα,
τὴν Καπερναούμ τὴν κατεστυγημένην
καὶ τὴν Ναζαρὲτ τὴν ἀπηνθρακωμένην.
σεπτοὶ μὲν εἰσι πάντες οἱ θεῖοι τόποι,
ἐν οἷς δὲ Σωτὴρ σαρκικῶς ἀνεστράφη·
πλὴν εἴπερ ἔξελοι τις ἀνυποστόλως
τῶν δεσποτικῶν θαυμάτων τὸ μυρίπνουν,
σκληραῖς ἀκάνθαις τοὺς τόπους παρεικάσοι.
τί γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἄξιον λόγου;
ἀήρ πονηρός, καυματώδης, πυρώδης,
ἄτακτος, ἀβέβαιος, οὐκ ἔχων στάσιν·
σφοδρὸν τὸ καῦσος, ἀνυπόστατον φέρειν.
ἄκρατος ἀήρ ὑδάτων ἐρημίᾳ.
ὅπου δὲ ἀφ' ὕψους ἐκρυήσεται δρόσος
κάκ τῶν νεφῶν ψέκασμα μικρὸν ἐκδράμη,

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I wish to say, but now again I fear to say
(oh, all-observing eye, don't be angry with me)
may even in my dreams I not see Jericho!
In river Jordan's water streams I took a bath
and saw the water everywhere mixed up with mud,
nowhere untroubled, nowhere being fit for drink,
and coloured in the same white colour as is milk.
Its currents are extremely slow of movement
so that the river could be said to be asleep.

What's this, my Christ, You Light of super-temporal⁶⁶ Light,
that long ago You settled in a place like this,
so dry, so suffocating, and so deadly hot!

And when I think about the heat of Nazareth,
then I am perplexed by Your humility, oh Word!
You truly gave the evidence that what was said
about that place was well said by Nathaniel:

"Can any good thing come there out of Nazareth?"⁶⁷
But as it seems, and You alone You know that best,
that always You preferred in Your somatic state
things that were poor, things that were from the anonymous:

from all the rivers in the world the Jordan stream,
which does not even count among the rivers, no,
and from the cities lying in Palestinian land
the most deplorable and the utmost obdurate,

such as the highly cursed and damned Capharnaum
and Nazareth which is a furnace stoked with coal.

Sacred, for sure, are all these places most divine,
where He, our Saviour, in the flesh did walk about,
but should a person take away without reserve
the holy odour of the wonders of the Lord,

then were these spots only compared with solid thorns.
For what, indeed, is in these lands worth mentioning?

The air is bad and scorching, it is full of fire,
unstable, unpredictable and without stand.

The heat is awful and is just unbearable,
and without moisture is the air where water lacks.
However, where some dew is falling from above
and from the clouds a little raindrop comes to earth,

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⁶⁶ ὑπέρχρονος, "transcending time", see Lampe, s.v. 1.

⁶⁷ John 1:46.

ώς οἶνος εὔπνους, ός μύρον συγκλείεται.
ἄλλον ὑπὸ δίψους φλεκτικοῦ φρύγοιτό τις,
δύσοσμον ὕδωρ, ἵλυρὸς ἐκπίνει,
ἀνούμενος καὶ τοῦτο (φεῦ λειψυδρίας).
ἀπόκροτος γῆ, κραναή, πεφρυγμένη,
ἐν τῇ ταλαιπωροῦσιν ἀτλήτοις πόνοις
καὶ τληπαθοῦσι καμάτοις βαρυτάτοις
καὶ βοῦς ἀροτρεὺς καὶ χέρες δρεπανίται.

⁶⁸ Ω γῆ Βυζαντίς, ὡς θεόδμητος πόλις,
ἡ καὶ τὸ φῶς δείξασα καὶ θρέψασά με,
ἐν σοὶ γενοίμην, καλλονὰς βλέψαιμί σου.
ναὶ ναὶ, γενοίμην ὑπὸ τὰς σὰς ἀγκάλας·
ναὶ ναὶ, γενοίμην ὑπὸ τὴν πτέρυγά σου
καὶ διατηροίης με καθὰ στρουθίον.

Λόγος δεύτερος.

Τούτων μετασχὼν τῶν καλῶν θεαμάτων,
ὑποστροφὴν ταχεῖαν εὑρεῖν φόμην
καὶ τὸ προσόν μοι βάρος ἀπορρατίσαι.
ἀλλὰ φθάσασα καὶ πάλιν ταχυδρόμος
ἡ πανταχοῦ συνοῦσά μοι δυσποτμία
πάλιν κατέσχε, πάλιν ἔθροησέ με.
μόλις ἀναβὰς εἰς τριήρη ταχύπλουν
εἰς τὴν στυγητὴν οὐριοδόμουν Τύρον,
ἥτις σπανίζει καὶ κοτύλης ὑδάτων.
ὅς παγκακία, παντομίσητος Τύρος·
τὸν γὰρ βαρύν σου καὶ πνιγηρὸν ἀέρα
καὶ τὴν ἀποφρύγουσαν ἥλιου φλόγα
τίνων διηγήσαιντο γλῶσσαι ῥητόρων;
ἐντεῦθεν ἡμῖν ἄρχεται τὰ τῆς νόσου,
νόσου δυσαλθοῦς, βαρυσυμφορωτάτης·
ἀνάπτεται μοι πυρετὸς καυματίας,
ώς πῦρ λιπαρόν, εὐπορῆσαν φρυγάνων.
τὰ σπλάγχνα πιμπρᾶ, βόσκεται τὴν οὐσίαν.

⁶⁸ Βοῦς ἀροτρεύς: for this connection see Hesiod, “Ἐργα καὶ ἡμέραι”, 406/7: “Οἶκον μὲν πρώτιστα γυναῖκά τε βοῦν τὸ ἀροτῆρα, / κτητήν, οὐδὲ γαμετήν.” The form ἀροτρεύς is to be found in Theocritus, 25, 1 and 51. My plural is for metrical reasons.

⁶⁹ Cf. Manasses, *Aristandros and Kallitheia*, frg. III, 60,1, “Λέγεται γάρ τοι βασιλεὺς στρουθιομήτωρ ὅρνις, /...”

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then is it like a fragrant wine, or fine perfume.
But when a man is shrivelled up by fiery thirst,
he finds no drink but ill-smelling and full of mire,
for which he has to pay much, too, (oh, lack of wet!).
The land is hard and rocky, desiccated by the heat,
in which with pain&unbearable there toil and moil
and suffer from the heaviest tirednesses
both ploughing-oxen and the hands of harvesters.⁶⁸

Oh, Byzantine land, oh City built by God,
which made me see the light and bred and fostered me,
oh, were I now in thee to see your effulgence,
yea, yea, I wish I were in your embracing arms,
yea, yea, I wish I were under your saving wing
while you look after me just like your little bird!⁶⁹

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Second Poem

Having enjoyed the beauty of these many sights
I thought I would now find a speedy return home
and thus drive off the sorrow which I bore in me.
But there she came and in a hurry, once again,
my misfortune⁷⁰ that follows me just everywhere:
again she caught me and again she frightened me.
No sooner had I embarked upon a fast trireme
en route for Tyrus -before the wind- the town I hate,
where scarcely can be found a waterbowl with drink
- oh, you disastrous Tyrus, you, all-hateful place,
for, yes, your heavy and much suffocating air⁷¹
as well as this hot burning sun which dries all up,
which tongues of rhetors can these things rightly describe? -
than there began the symptoms of my being ill,
a deadly⁷² illness, absolutely unbearable.
High fever got a hold of me and set me ablaze
just like a fire, fed by oil, consuming twigs;
it burned my heart and liver and it grazed my life,

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⁷⁰ δυσποτμία, “ill-luck”, here personified.

⁷¹ Strabo (see n. 25) makes no remark on the climate of Tyre; however, he censures the unpleasant living conditions due to the many dyehouses for purple (16, 2, 23).

⁷² “νόσου δυσαλθοῦς”. Δυσαλθῆς, a medical term, “incurable”, “deadly”, here, of course, used in an exaggerated way. The symptoms mentioned point to typhus.

ἀπηνθράκωσεν, ἐξεδαπάνησέ με·
ἐπυρπόλησεν, ἐξετηγάνισέ με.
ἀτμῖσι πυκναῖς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐξόφου
καὶ τοῦ λογισμοῦ τὰς κόρας συνεζόφου.
αἱ τρίχες ἐξέπιπτον ὡς νεκροῦ τρίχες,
τῆς πυρκαϊᾶς οὐ φέρουσαι τὴν ζέσιν.
φεῦ, φεῦ, ἐγὼ δύστηνος, ἄξιος γόου,
ἄνθρωπος εὐμάραντος, ἐκτετηγμένος,
φορῶν κάτισχον καὶ σκιῶδες σαρκίον,
ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, δέρμα σαρκίου μόνον.
κοσμουργὲ Χριστὲ καὶ Θεὲ ζωοβρύτα,
οἴα μὲν ἡ κένωσις ἐκ τῶν ἐντέρων,
οἴα δ' ἀπὸ στόματος, ἐκτύφουσά με
καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἀναμιμνήσκουσά με
τροφῆς ἐκείνης τῆς ἀπηγορευμένης,
ἢ παρασυρεὶς καὶ κλαπεὶς ἐγὼ τάλας
τὴν πικροποιὸν κακίαν ἥλλαξάμην.
ἄν έννοήσω τῆς χολῆς τὴν πικρίαν,
θάνατον αὐτόχρημα τὸ πρᾶγμα κρίνω.
παρεῖντο χεῖρες, ἔτρεμον δὲ τὰ σκέλη,
ἄ βάσιν οὐκ ἔχοντα παγιωτέραν
εἰς γῆν με κατήρασσον ὡς ἄπνουν νέκυν.
ὅλας θαλάσσας ἐκροφᾶν ἥπειγόμην,
ὅλους ποταμοὺς ἐκπίνειν ἐγλιχόμην·
τὸ πῦρ γάρ ἔνδον ἐγκαθήμενον λάβρον
ὅλην ἀπεξήραινε τὴν διαρτίαν.
αἱ αἱ, πολυστένακτον ἀνθρώπων γένος,
κακῶν ἄβυσσε, βυθὲ τῆς δυσποτίας·
αἱ αἱ, πολυστρόβητε, κυκητὰ βίε,
ἀλλοπρόσαλλε, τρισκατάρατε, πλάνε,
ἄνισε, παντόφυρτε, βάσιν οὐκ ἔχων·
σκώληξ σὺ πικρός, καρδίας κατεσθίων,
δυσχείμερος θάλασσα μυρίων κακῶν,
ἀνήμερον πέλαγος μυρίων κακῶν.
“Ο γοῦν σεβαστός, ἡμιθανῆ με βλέπων,
ἐσχετλίαζε, συμπαθῶς ἐδυσφόρει

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it carbonized me and, what's more, exhausted me,
it baked me in the fire, and smothered me in a pan,
darkened my head with dense and smoky puffs
which at the same time closed the pupils of my brain.⁷³

My hair fell out -just as it happens with a corpse-,
not being proof against the strain of feverish heat.

Alas, alas, unlucky me, a piteous man,
soon withering, emaciated to the bone,
with nothing more than very lean shadows of flesh,
or better said, no flesh at all, only the skin.

Oh, Christ, creator of the world, life-pouring⁷⁴ God,
that terrible evacuation of my paunch,
that vomiting out of my mouth, which scorchèd me,
and which reminded me of fruit⁷⁵ from long ago
which I enjoyed, although forbidden as it was,
by which I was seduced and cheated, I, poor wretch,
which thrust this bitter misery onto my neck!

Whenever I perceive the bitterness of bile
I feel this thing exactly is the same as death.
Limp were my arms, shaky my legs, and they, my legs
were powerless, not able anymore to let me walk,
only to fling me down to earth, a breathless corpse!

In eager haste I started gulping down whole seas,
whole rivers were my goal to drink with gluttony,
because the blazing fire, which in my entrails raged,
dried out just every bone of all my skeleton.

Ah, ah, you, human race, to be deeply deplored,
abyss of evils, depth of great misfortune, too!

Ah, ah, you, human life, so changeable⁷⁶ and weird,
unsteady and deceptive, thrice-accursed as well,
not very fair and all-confusing, without base,
you are the cruel worm devouring all the hearts,
you are the stormy sea of countless miseries,
you are the ruthless ocean of countless pains!

In short, his Highness seeing me as almost dead,
he was alarmed, felt irritation and compassion, too,

⁷³ Unconsciousness or lethargy is one of the symptoms of this illness.

⁷⁴ For ζωοβρύτης, see Trapp, *LBG*, s.v.

⁷⁵ τροφῆς, literally “food”. It was common belief that people were punished for their sins by illness.

⁷⁶ πολυστρόβητος < πολύς + στροβητός, again a neologism. In his poem *Aristan-dros and Kallitheia*, Manasses repeatedly touches on this theme, e.g. frg. III, 52, 54, 55 (with an allusion to Solon’s remark against Croesus in Herodotus, I, 32, 7).

καὶ φιλοτίμου τῆς προνοίας ἡξίου.
οὕτω κακῶς πάσχοντι συγκατηλέει
δ Δουκόβλαστος εὐκλεής Ἀλέξιος,
δ τηνικαῦτα κυριαρχῶν Κύπριον,
ἀνὴρ μεγαλόδωρος, αὐτοπραότης,
ἐκ βασιλικῶν αἰμάτων κατηγμένος.
ἴν' οὖν τὰ πολλὰ συντεμών γοργῶς φράσω,
ἀμφοῖν κελεύσει καὶ θελήσει καὶ κρίσει
εἰς τὴν περιβότον ἡνέχθην Κύπρον,
ώς ἀρος τύχοιμι καθαρωτέρου
καὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν ἀποκρουσαίμην νόσον.
οἵοις μὲν οὖν με τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ πόσοις
ἡρδευσε χειρὶ δαψιλεῖ καὶ πλουσίᾳ
Δουκῶν δ κλάδος, ἡ γαλήνιος φύσις,
οὐκ ἀν δυναίμην τῷ λόγῳ διαγράφειν.
πάλιν δ' ἐπῆλθεν ἡ παλαμναία νόσος,
ώς ἐκ δρυμοῦ σῆς, ὃς λεαίνης σκυμνίον.
ἔβρυξε τοὺς δδόντας, ἤνοιξε στόμα·
καταπιεῖν ὥρμησεν ἀσχέτῳ θράσει,
τὸν φλοῖν ἀπεξῆρανε τὸν τοῦ σαρκίου,
τὸν χοῦν ἀπημαύρωσε τῆς διαρτίας,
τὸν διοῦν ἐπωχέτευσε τῶν ἐντοσθίων.
ἄσθμα λυπρόν, ὃ γεώδης οὐσία.
καν μὴ σύ, πάτερ τοῦ γένους φυτηκόμε,
ἄμβρησας ἀνάψυξιν ἐμπνόου δρόσου
πεσόντι καὶ ψυγέντι καὶ ῥεύσαντί μοι,
τάχ' ἀν τεφρωθεὶς εἰς τὸ μηδὲν πεφθάκειν.
τέως ἀποδράς, δορκάς ὥσπερ ἐκ βρόχων,
ἔλευθερίων ἡψάμην πετασμάτων.
καὶ νῦν παροικῶ τὴν ὑμνουμένην Κύπρον,
τὴν λιπαρὰν γῆν, τὴν πολυφόρον χθόνα,
ἄλλοις κύπειρον οὖσαν, ἀλλ' ἔμοι Κύπρον.
τί γὰρ ταπεινῶν ἀστρίων ἀμαυρότης

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and ordered an intensive and expensive care!

While suffering this awful fate I was indulged
with pity by the Doukas-shoot Alexios,⁷⁷
the famous governor of Cyprus at that time,
a very generous, friendly personality,
and really descending from imperial blood.

In order now to cut a verbose story short:
by will, consent, and order of both mighty men
I was transported to that famous Cyprus there,
where I should find, as it was hoped, a more fresh air
for getting rid of this disease which savaged me.

All kinds of healthy things, these many benefits
which has bestowed on me with rich and generous hand
the scion of Doukas family, nature serene,
impossible for me to mention these in words!
Nevertheless, again the murderous illness did

attack me like a boar from copse, or lioness.
It gnashed its teeth, it opened threatening its mouth
and was prepared to swallow me with brutal force.
It dehydrated all the surface of my skin,
it charred the earthen dust of all my body's shape.⁷⁸

it drained away all moisture in my entrails left.
Oh wretched substance, oh you, creature made of earth!
And if you, Father-Planter of the human race,
hadn't rained upon me the refreshment of cool wind,
thus fallen ill, wasting away by feverish heat,

I would, reduced to ashes, now have passed to nil.
However, I escaped, just like a deer from snare
and clung to wings which brought me into liberty.
Therefore I live now here on Cyprus, well-renowned

for its fertility and for its fruitful land,

to some a land of citrus, Cyprus just for me!⁷⁹

For, what is the dull flicker of the modest stars

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⁷⁷ Horna devotes an elaborate note to the question as to who this Alexios Doukas was. He was not the eldest son of Nikephoros Bryennios, but perhaps the Alexios who is mentioned in an enkolpion which came into the possession of Amalric, King of Jerusalem in 1171; the King donated it to the Grammont Monastery in 1174. This Alexios was a great-grandson of Irene, wife of Alexios Komnenos. His ἀκμή fell between 1150 and 1170 and he could be the successor of John Komnenos, grand nephew of the emperor of that name, who is mentioned as a Byzantine governor of Cyprus by Johannes Kinnamos, *Epitome* (see n. 3), IV, 17, CSHB, p. 178, 22.

⁷⁸ διαρτία, "form", a rare word, used by Cosmas the Melodist, *Hymns* 2, 40, PG 98, 459-524, "σύμμορφος πηλίνης εὐτελοῦς διαρτίας, Χριστέ, γεγονώς"; see Lampe, s.v. Some other instances are mentioned in Trapp, *LBG*.

⁷⁹ The pun κύπειρον — Κύπρον is inimitable in English. I therefore tried the assonant juxtaposition citrus — Cyprus. The reference to κύπειρος is an allusion to Homer, *Ilias*, φ, 351 and *Odyssey*, δ, 603. From these instances it is clear that galingale grew on fertile places and was used as horse-fodder. Manasses' pun probably means: Cyprus may be fertile as it is (for horses), as to me, it offers nothing.

πρὸς τὴν τὸ πᾶν βόσκουσαν ἡλίου φλόγα;
 ἢ τί πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν
 ἢ Κύπρος ἢ σύμπασα καὶ τὰ τῆς Κύπρου;
 ὃ μόχθος, ὃ μάθησις, ὃ σοφῶν βίβλοι,
 αἵς συνεσάπην ἀνοήτως ἐκ νέου·
 ὃ σώματος κάκωσις, ὃ νυκτῶν δρόμοι,
 ὃς ἀνάλωσα ταῖς βίβλοις ἐντυγχάνων,
 ἄϋπνος, οὐδὲ βλέφαρα κάμπτων εἰς ὅπνον,
 ὃσπερ μονάζων στρουθὸς ἐν δωματίῳ,
 ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, ἐν σκότει νυκτικόραξ.
 εἰς γῆν παροικῶ τὴν σπανίζουσαν λόγων·
 ἀργὸς κάθημαι, συμπεδήσας τὸ στόμα,
 ἀεργός, ἀκίνητος ὡς φυλακίτης,
 ὥητωρ ἄγλωσσος οὐκ ἔχων παρρησίαν,
 ὥητωρ ἄφωνος οὐκ ἔχων γυμνασίαν.
 ὃσπερ δὲ παράδεισος, οὐκ ἔχων ὕδωρ,
 συγκαίεται μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς λειψυδρίας,
 συμφρύγεται δὲ παρὰ τῆς ἀνομβρίας
 καὶ φυλλοριπτεῖ δενδρῖτις εὐκοσμία,
 οὕτω κάγῳ πέπονθα· καὶ διεφθάρην
 καὶ κάλλος ἀπέβαλλον, οὗπερ ηὐπόρουν.
 ἀργὸς διάγω, βόσκομαι ταῖς ἐλπίσιν
 ἢ τὴν κίνησιν καρτερῶ τῶν ὑδάτων,
 ὡς πρὶν ὁ παράλυτος ὑγείας χάριν.

⁷Ω Τρωμαῖς γῆ, κόσμε τῆς γῆς ἀπάσης,
 ἔρρευσε τὰ βλέφαρα προσδοκῶντά σε.
 αἱ αἱ, στενάζω καὶ ποθῶ σε καὶ πνέω,
 κάλλιστε μητράδελφε, κόσμε συγγόνων·
 ἀπείργομαι δὲ σῆς ἐρασμίου θέας,
 ὃ κύκλε χρυσέ, τῶν μοναστῶν σεμνότης·
 ἐκρυσταλλώθην, ἔξελιπον, ἔρρυην·
 δ τέττιγες πάσχουσιν οἱ δροσοφάγοι,
 θέρους μὲν ὑπάδοντες ἔμμουσον μέλος,

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⁸⁰ This sigh is reminiscent of the beginning of Poem III of Ptochoprodromos (ed. H. Eideneier, Neograeca Medii Aevi, v (Cologne, 1991); = Poem IV in the ed. D.C. Heseling and H. Pernot, Verh. KNAW, afd. Letterkunde, 11,1 (Amsterdam, 1910)), whose father forced him to start a career as an intellectual, with much paperwork and little bread on the shelf.

⁸¹ For 96 and 97 compare Psalm 101 (102):7-8, “ἐγενήθην ὡσεὶ νυκτικόραξ ἐν οἰκοπέδῳ / ἥγρύπνησα καὶ ἐγενήθην / ὡσεὶ στρουθίον μονάζον ἐπὶ δώματι”.

compared with that all-feeding flame of her, the sun?

So, in comparison with the City of Constantine,
 what 's Cyprus in its wholeness and particulars?

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Oh strain, oh education, oh these learned men's books
 with which from childhood I was stuffed, silly enough!⁸⁰

Oh torment of my body, oh these lengthy nights
 which I spent sitting amidst my books and reading them,

95

awake, not letting close my eyelashes for sleep,
 remaining like a sparrow in my room alone,

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or, better said, a long-eared owl at darkness' hour.⁸¹

I live here in a land where literature is scarce,
 I sit here idly down, hand-cuffed at the mouth,

105

just unemployed, immobile like a prisoner,⁸²
 tongueless orator without liberty of speech,

110

voiceless orator without any exercise.

No, like a garden without any water-stream,
 which suffers baking in the lack of moisture there,

105

which suffers withering by lasting lack of rain,
 the splendid trees of which have dropped⁸³ their splendid leaves,

115

thus was the situation of myself: I died
 and lost the beauty which I usually enjoyed;

idling away my time I feed myself with hope
 or wait the movement of the waters going through

110

just as in older times the lame did for his health.⁸⁴

Oh, Roman land, true ornament of all the earth,
 my eyes and eyelashes are wet thinking of you.

115

Yea, yea, I groan, longing for you with every breath,
 dear mother's brother, pearl of my whole family,⁸⁵

120

because I am devoid of your so lovely look,

you, golden ring, respected in the monastery!

I froze, I fell into a swoon, wasted away.

What happened to me 's what dew-consuming crickets fare
 who sing their high-melodious songs in summertime,

⁸² This meaning of φυλακίτης is a new one in comparison with the meaning “police officer” (in Egypt; see LSJ). For the meaning “prisoner”, see Lampe, s.v.

⁸³ φυλλοριπτῶ is probably a neologism which has replaced φυλλορροέω.

⁸⁴ Cf. John 5:2-7 on the pool Bethesda, around which a multitude of sick people was “waiting for the moving of the water”: “whosoever then first... stepped in was made whole...”

⁸⁵ This uncle on his mother's side is further unknown. From vs. 117 one may conclude that he was an abbot of a monastery in (the neighbourhood of) Constantinople.

νεκρούμενοι δὲ τοῦ κρύους πεφθακότος,
τὸ γάρ πολυμέριμνον ἀνθρώπων γένος,
θαλφθὲν μὲν ἀβροῖς ἡλίοις ἀλυπίας
τὴν γλῶσσαν ὑψοῖ Στέντορος τορωτέραν
καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήθιον ἀπλοῖ μαγάδα
καὶ φθόγγον εὐτόρνευτον, ἐμμελῆ πλέκει·
ἀν δ' ἀποπαγῇ τῷ κρύει τῶν θλίψεων,
μαραίνεται, φεῦ, τὸν κρυμὸν μὴ βαστάσαν.

Ο μὲν μεγαλόδωρος, ὁ χρυσοῦς Δοῦκας,
δ τῶν χαρίτων Νεῖλος, δ χρυσοβρύτης,
κορεννύει με δαψιλῶν ψωμίσμάτων
καὶ τὴν Ἀερμὰν ὅμβροβλυτεῖ μοι δρόσον,
οὐ προσδοκήσας ἔξ ἐμοῦ τι κερδᾶναι,
(πῶς γάρ σελήνης δίσκος δ πλήρης φάους
δανείσεται φῶς ἀπὸ πυγολαμπίδος;) 125
ἀλλ' ὡς κινηθεὶς ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας.
ἀν δ' ἐννοήσω τὴν Βυζαντίδα χθόνα,
χολὴ δοκεῖ μοι τῶν τραπεζῶν τὸ στέαρ,
τὰ πάντα πικρά, κὰν τὸ νέκταρ εἰς πόσιν,
κὰν ἀμβροσίαν πρὸς τροφὴν φέροντά μοι.
καὶ μουσικὸν γὰρ ἐγκαθειρχθὲν στρουθίον,
κὰν λιπαρῶς τρέφοιτο, κὰν ὑπὲρ κόρον,
ἐλευθερίων γλίχεται πετασμάτων
καὶ δυσχεραῖνον τὸν μετ' ἀνθρώπων βίον,
ἀεὶ διώκει κρυφίας διεξόδους. 130
οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἥδυ καὶ ζητητέον,
ὡς φῶς ἐλευθέριον, ἄφροντις βίος.

γένοιτο, Χριστέ, καὶ τυχεῖν χρηστοῦ τέλους,
ναὶ ναί, κεραμεῦ φύσεως ἀνθρωπίνης,
ναὶ ναί, φυτουργὲ πλάσεως βροτησίας,
ὡς σῶστρά σοι θύσαιμεν ὑμνοποιίας
κρατῆρά τε σπείσαιμεν εὐχαριστίας.

Ω γῆ Βυζαντίς, ὦ πόλις τρισολβία,
δοφθαλμὲ τῆς γῆς, κόσμε τῆς οἰκουμένης,
τηλαυγὲς ἄστρον, τοῦ κάτω κόσμου λύχνε, 140

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⁸⁶ Though ψωμίσματα is not to be taken in its original meaning, “morsels”. Manasses may have had in mind Plutarchus, *Vita Romuli*, cap. 2, where it is told how Romulus and Remus are kept alive by the milk of the she-wolf and the ψωμίσματα brought by birds.

⁸⁷ The verb δομβροβλυτέω is used in the Suda, see LSJ, s.v.

but die as soon as chilly wintertime arrives!
For, in the same way the wretched human race is raised:
as long as cherished by the sun of happiness,
its voice, in louder tones and pitch than Stentor's was,
expands the bridge of his rib cage to last degree, 125
producing so a full and round, harmonious sound,
but when it is grown stiff by chilling from distress,
it wastes away, being, alas, no match for frost!

Doukas, indeed, the generous man with golden heart,
this Nile of benefactions, flowing floods of gold,
abundantly he overwhelms me with rich foods⁸⁶
and showers down upon me dew⁸⁷ from Hermon Mount,
without expecting any gain coming from me
(for how will the round moon disc full of splendid light
owe any light produced by one mere firefly?)⁸⁸ 130
but driven by his feelings of philanthropy!

Nevertheless, my thinking of Byzantium
makes all the richness of the meals feel like pure bile,
taste all things bitter, even with nectar for drink,
and even if they bring ambrosia for food. 135
A singing-bird which sees itself caught in a cage,
albeit plentifully fed, more than enough,
longs just for freedom and for spreading out its wings;
it hates a life together with that human folk
and steadily is searching for secret escapes!

For nothing is so sweet and so desirable
as freedom's light and life without solicitudes.
Good Christ, bestow that at the end all will be good,⁸⁹
yea, yea, you Potter of the human earthenware,
yea, you Arboriculturist of mortal stock, 140
so that by songs I may express my rescue thanks
and offer you a bowl brimful of gratitudes!

Oh, country of Byzantium, fortunate Town,
eye of the world and ornament of all the globe,
wide-shining star and lantern of this earth beneath,

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⁸⁸ πυγολαμπίς < πυγή, “buttocks”, “tail” + λαμπ- (literally: “glow-worm”) is mentioned in Aristoteles, *Historia Animalium*, 523b21 and 551b24. Common variants are πυριλαμπίς and πυρολαμπίς. I translated “firefly” for metrical reasons.

⁸⁹ “Good... good”: my attempt to “honour” the play of words Χριστέ ... χρηστοῦ, with (in Byzantine Greek) homonymous first syllable.

ἐν σοὶ γενοίμην, κατατρυφήσαιμί σου·
σὺ καὶ περιθάλποις με καὶ διεξάγοις
καὶ μητρικῶν σῶν ἀγκαλῶν μὴ χωρίσαις.

Δόγος τρίτος.

"Εμελλον ἄρα καὶ πάλιν κινεῖν χέρα
καὶ στηλογραφεῖν τὰς ἐμάς δυσπραγίας·
παρῆλθε καὶ γὰρ οὐδέπω τὰ δεινά μοι,
ἀεὶ δ' ἐπιρρέουσι καὶ τρύχουσί με.
κάγῳ μὲν φυμην ὥχρι καὶ τοῦ τρυγίου
πιεῖν ἀπάσας τῆς τύχης τὰς πικρίας·
καὶ συμφορῶν κύπελλα καὶ νόσων σκύφους·
τὰ δ' ἡσαν αὖθις ὡς κρατήρ χολῆς γέμων
καὶ θλίψεων ῥοῦν ἀδάπανον βλυστάνων.
φῦμην τὸ δένδρον τῶν ἐμῶν παθημάτων,
κάνεν θέρει τέθηλε, χειμῶνι φθίνειν·
τὸ δ' ἦν ἀειβλάστητον, εὔκαρπον, βρύον
εἰς πάντα καιρόν, οὐ γάρ ένθερει μόνον.

Αἳ αἴ, τυφλὸν δεῖλαιον ἀνθρώπων γένος,
ὦς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον τὰς κόρας τυφλὰς ἔχεις.
ἔπειτι γὰρ εἰς πέλαγος ἐμπεσὼν νόσων
καὶ προσραγεῖς τὸ σῶμα παντοίαις βλάβαις
εἰς νῆσον ἡχθην τὴν μεγίστην τὴν Κύπρον,
ὦς ἐκτινάξω τῶν παθῶν τὸ φορτίον,
προσέσχον αὖθις κινδύνοις παλιντρόποις
καὶ τραχύτης κλύδωνος ὑπέπαισέ με,
ὦσει τις ἀρθεὶς εἰς ἀπόκρημνον λόφον
πάλιν ὅπισθόντος ἐξ ὕψους πέσοι.
ὦς ἀπόλοιτο κακία τῆς ἡμέρας,
έν τῇ προσῆλθον ἀπὸ τῆς Βυζαντίδος·
μὴ συνταγείη τοῦ χρόνου ταῖς ἡμέραις,
ἥνικα λιπῶν τὴν πόλιν τὴν δλβίαν,
ἐπεπλανήθην εἰς βαραθρώδεις τόπους.
ἀλλ' ὡς τὶ μάτην ἀγκαλῶ ταῖς ἡμέραις,
αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτοῦ κατενεγκών τὸ ξίφος;

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I wish I were now in your arms, enjoyed⁹⁰ in you,
I wish you cherished me and gave me full support,
that never more I will be off from your embrace!

Third Poem

It was my fate that once again I moved my hand
to write my train of misfortunes on tablets down!
For these my sufferings were far from ended now,
no, they continued flooding and exhausting me!
And then I thought that I had drunk full to the dregs
the multitude of bitternesses of my fate,
the cups brimful of miseries and illnesses,
but there it was again: a bowl filled up with bile
which overflows with never-ending streams of pain!
I also thought the tree of all my sufferings,
though flourishing in summer, would in winter die.
It proved to be an evergreen, teeming with fruits
and at all seasons, not just during summertime!

Ah, ah, stone blind and miserable human race,
how do you have your eyes towards the future closed!
For, being tumbled in the sea of illnesses
and being physically broken by all harms
and after being brought to Cyprus, that great isle,
for shaking off the burden of my sufferings,

I was confronted with just other dangers now
and roughness of the dash of waves had hit me down,⁹¹
the same way as a man raised up onto a cliff
who backward falls from his position into depth!
Be cursed the badness of that miserable day

that I departed from my land, Byzantium.
Oh, wouldn't be numbered among daily time that day
when I went off to leave that City fortunate
and had to roam about the lands full of ravines!
But why to blame the days unjustifiably
where I myself let fall the sword upon myself?

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⁹⁰ The basic use of κατατρυφάω + gen. is given in Psalm 36 (37):4: "κατατρύφησον τοῦ κυρίου" ("delight thyself in the Lord"). See also Lampe, s.v.

⁹¹ One of the few dubious readings of the text. Horna indicates that MS V has ὑπέβαλλέ με, but in the margin ὑπέπεσέ με, written by him as ὑπέπαισε for

metrical reasons from ὑποπαίω, a verb without parallel. Perhaps ὑπέπεσέ με is not more than a gloss upon the unusual meaning of ὑπέβαλλέ με, the meaning of which may be compared with Polybius, 1, 82, 2, "ὑπέβαλλε τοῖς θηρίοις (τοὺς πολεμίους sc.)".

πάλιν ἀνοίξω καὶ πλατυνῶ τὸ στόμα
καὶ τοὺς κατασχόντας με λαλήσω πόνους.
ἔγειρεται μοι βαρυάλγητον πάθος
νεφρῶν καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν μελῶν ὀπισθίων,
καλῶς δέ, Χριστέ, καὶ μετ' ἐνδίκου νόμου·
οὐ γάρ περιέσφιγξα νεφροὺς εὐφρόνως,
τὴν δύσφυν οὐκ ἔξωσα, σοὺς πατῶν νόμους,
αἰ δὲ, πάθος δύστλητον, ἄλγους δξύτης,
εἰς αὐτὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἔξικνουμένη.
κίνησις οὐκ ἦν, δυσχερῆς ἦν ἡ στάσις,
ἡ κατάκλισις βαρυσυμφορωτέρα.
τὸν παράλυτον ἄν τις εἴκασε βλέπειν,
ὅρῶν βεβλημένον με νεκρὸν ἐν κλίνῃ.
ἐντεῦθεν ἥλγουν, ἥθυμουν, ἐδυσφόρουν,
ἀρυόμην, ἥσχαλλον, ὥχλουν, ἥχθόμην.
ἥλιε, μὴ βλέψαιεν αἱ σαὶ λαμπάδες
ἄνθρωπον ὅποστάντα τοιούτον βάρος.
κὰν γάρ γίγας τις, κὰν λίθινος τυγχάνῃ,
κὰν ἔξισται ταῖς κέδροις τοῦ Λιβάνου,
φανήσεται, φεῦ, ἰσχνότης καλαμίνη,
καμφθήσεται, φεῦ, ὃς ἀμάξης ἀψίδες.
ὦ πικροποιὸν καὶ χολὴν βλύσαν φυτὸν
καὶ τοῦ κακίστου σατανᾶ συμβουλία
καὶ τῶν γεναρχῶν δυστυχῆς ἀπληστία,
δι' ὃν θαλάσσας μυρίων παθημάτων
τὸ τληπαθὲς πέπωκεν ἀνθρώπων γένος.

Εἶχον μὲν οὕτως, ὥσπερ ἡμίπνους νέκυς·
τοῦ <γὰρ> ποδός μοι μηδόλως κινούμενον,
ὃς δένδρον ἡμίψυχον ἀπεψυχόμην·
ἔχωλαναν γάρ αἱ τρίβοι τῆς καρδίας:
οὐκοῦν δικαίως ἡ κίνησις ἐσφάλη.
ἄσιτος ἡμην, οὐ προσηγόμην ὕδωρ.
ἀπεστενώθη τὸ πλάτος τῶν ἐντέρων·
τὰ κέντρα καὶ γάρ τῶν πικρῶν ἀλγηδόνων
ἀπερράπιζον τὴν τροφὴν καὶ τὴν πόσιν.
μή μοι γένοιτο, Χριστέ, μηδὲ καθ' ὑπνους

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I'll open now and once again widen my mouth
to tell the miseries which held me in their grasp.
A very painful suffering was roused in me
which struck precisely at the reins right in my back,⁹²
and rightly so, my Christ, according to your law.
For I didn't wisely keep my reins under control
nor did I keep girded my loins,⁹³ breaking your laws.
Ow, ouch, untolerable pain, this knife-sharp grief,
which penetrated right away into my brain!

It was impossible to walk, hard to stand up,
but lying down was even more unbearable.

One would have thought, if seeing me, he saw the lame,
thus I was lying like a corpse stretched in my bed,
perished with pain, full of dejection and with wrath,
I moaned, I grudged, I felt distressed and much oppressed!

Oh sun, your eyes may never see again a man
who has to suffer such atrocity of pain!

For even if he should have been a giant of stone
or just as strong as cedars of the Lebanon,
it would turn out, alas, that he was weak like reed
and he would curve, alas, like felloes of a wheel!⁹⁴
Oh, tree⁹⁵ which richly bitterness and bile produced
and that advice given from evil Satan's side
and that disastrous gluttony of our first man,
which caused that this so very wretched human race
has drunk these oceans of innumerable pains.

This was my situation then: as good as dead,
one of my legs was fully motionless, indeed,
just as a nearly lifeless⁹⁶ tree was I dying off:
for they, the paces of my heart went badly lame,
no wonder then that any move could only fail!
I could not eat, nor could I take to me some drink,
the width of my intestines grew just narrower,
for all the tortures of these painful sufferings
drove any lust for food or drink by force away.
I pray to you, Christ, may I even in my sleep,

⁹² I have followed the "neutral" wording of Manasses himself. However, I guess that νεφροί is euphemistically used for ὅρχεις, for which use see LSJ, s.v. "νεφρός". Vs. 36 makes clear that Manasses caught some venereal disease.

⁹³ Cf. Ex. 12:11; Luc. 12:35.

⁹⁴ "ὦς ἀμάξης ἀψίδες". MS V reads ἀψῖδες with the correct classical accentuation. Horna changed the accent because the metre requires a short i.

⁹⁵ This φυτόν is, of course, the tree of good and evil.

⁹⁶ For ἡμίψυχος, "semianimis", LSJ refers to glossaria.

Ιδεῖν ἔκείνου τοῦ πάθους τὰς πικρίας·
ἀν γὰρ χρονίσῃ τῶν δνείρων ἡ πλάνη
καὶ μὴ διαπτῆ καὶ λυθῆ παραυτίκα,
‘Αἰδου με συγκλείσειε παμφάγον στόμα.
χρόνῳ δὲ πολλῷ προσπελάσας τῇ νόσῳ
καὶ γνοὺς τὸ λοιπὸν μηδὲ μικρὸν ἴσχύειν
‘Ασκληπιαδῶν τὴν σοφὴν τεχνουργίαν,
μόνην δὲ τριβὴν καὶ κενὴν στομαλγίαν,
ἄλλην ἀτραπὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐτράπην
καὶ κατ’ ἔμαυτὸν εἶπον «ἔρριφθω κύβος»
καὶ θερμολούτειν ἡρξάμην τὸ σαρκίον.
ὢ λουτρόν, ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐμῆς εὐρωστίας,
σὺ πολλὰ τερπνὰ τοῖς κακουμένοις φέρον
καὶ τὰς ἐμάς ὕρθωσας εὐμενῶς τρίβους.
Θέλω κροτῆσαι τοῖς λόγοις καὶ σαλπίσαι
τῶν σῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰς πολυρρύτους χύσεις,
ἄλλ’ εἰσέτι μοι μικρόφωνον τὸ στόμα,
ἀποψυγὲν καύσωνι πειρατηρίων.
ἥλιος ἔγνω καὶ σελήνη τὴν δύσιν,
ὅ ποὺς δ’ ὁ γοργός, ἡ ταχυπέτης πτέρυξ
τῆς συμπιεζούστης με βαρυποτμίας
οὐκ οἴδε κατάπαυσιν, οὐκ οἴδε στάσιν.
ὦ πᾶς ἀν ηὐτύχησα πρὸς βραχὺν χρόνον
τοῦ συμπαθοῦς τὴν γλῶσσαν Τερεμίου,
ὅς τῶν κακῶν μου τὰς φορὰς ὀδυράμην.
αἵ αἱ, συχνῶν μου συμφορῶν καὶ κινδύνων
καὶ τῶν βελέμνων τῆς τύχης τῆς βασκάνου.
ἔως πότε στέρξω σε, τύχης πικρία;
τί πρὸς τοσοῦτον ἐκπιέζεις καὶ τρύχεις;
τὴν αἷματηρὰν ἐξέπιες πλημμύραν,
τὸ τῶν κρεῶν μου κατεμασσήσω λέπος,
ἥψω σχεδόν μου τοῦ βάθους τῶν ἐγκάτων.
τί γοῦν ἐπισφάττεις με; τί με συμπνίγεις;
ἥλιε καὶ φῶς καὶ χορὸς τῶν ἀστέρων,
ἰδὼν τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο, πῶς οὐκ ἐκρύβης;

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no, never see the bitter pains which I endured,
for if would last this bad deceit as caused by dreams
and not would stop and come to end immediately,
better devours me Hades with his greedy mouth!
Thus being burdened with this illness a long time
and feeling that no longer would suffice the skill
of the sophisticated fellows of Asclepius

-not more than time-consuming work and hollow talk-
I took, forced by necessity, another path:

I uttered to myself the words: “the die be cast”⁹⁷
and started bathing then my body in hot baths.

Oh, swimming pool and starting point for my good health,
you, that so many joyful things brings to the harmed
and that has made the paths well straight also for me,
I shall with words applaud and make the trumpet sound
to tell about the flooding streams of your mere goods,
though for the moment I am still a bit weak-voiced
because yet chilled by that great heat of these my trials.
The sun knows setting⁹⁸ and the same holds for the moon,
the fast, however, running foot, the flying wing
of my oppressive fate that really turned me down
is not aware of any rest, knows no standstill.

Oh, had I had at my disposal a short time
the tongue of sympathetic prophet Jeremiah
in order to bewail the blows of my bad luck
and, ouch, the many miseries and dangers, too,
and all these arrows of a fate that tortured me!

Until what time I’ll have to love you, bitter fate?

Why do you squeeze me and distress to such extent?
You fully drained the rich abundance of my blood,
you ate digesting all the fat which built my flesh,
and you almost attacked my body’s inmost parts.

Why do you slaughter and why do you strangle me?
You, sun and moon and chorus of the many stars,
why didn’t you disappear on seeing such event?

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⁹⁷ See ἀνερρίφθω κύβος in Plutarchus, *Vita Caesaris*, c. 32, and Athenaeus, *Deip-nosophists*, trans. C.B. Gulick, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1969), XIII, 559e. See also Zonaras, x, 7: “Καίσαρ ... τοῦτο δὴ τὸ κοινὸν ὑπειπάν ‘ἔρριφθω κύβος’ ὥρμησε, ...”

⁹⁸ Psalm 103 (104):19, “ἐποίησεν σελήνην εἰς καιρούς, δ ἥλιος ἔγνω τὴν δύσιν αὐτοῦ”.

Ὥ χρύσεον πόλισμα τῆς Βυζαντίδος,
ἥλιε τῆς γῆς, κάλλος οὐκ ἔχον κόρον,
ἔως πότε βλέψω σε κατὰ τὸν ὕπνους;
ἴδοιμι, παντέραστε, σὰς στιλβηδόνας
βλέψαιμι, καλλίφωτε, τὰ πρόσωπά σου.

105

Λόγος τέταρτος.

Ὥ χειρες, ἵσχύσατε καὶ κινεῖσθέ μοι·
πόδες, διανάστητε καὶ σκιρτᾶτέ μοι·
ὦ γλῶσσα, βῆξον ὕμνον εὐχαριστίας;
χάρηθι καὶ σύ, τριτάλαινα καρδία.
ἴδου γάρ, ίδού, καθαρώτατα βλέπω
τὴν παντέραστον, δλβίαν Βυζαντίδα.
ἀλλ' ὡ τί τοῦτο; μὴ πεπλάνημαι πάλιν;
μὴ Κύπρον οἰκῶ, τὴν κάκοσμον πικρίαν,
ἢ τὴν πνιγηρὰν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πόλιν
ἢ τὴν Ναζαρέτ, τὴν ἐμοὶ στυγητέαν;
φαντάζομαι πευδῶς σε, χρυσέα πόλις;
ἐνύπνιόν μοι τοῦτο καὶ νυκτὸς γέλως,
ἢ σε τρανῶς κατεῖδον ὑπάρ, οὐκ ὄναρ;
ἀλλ' οὐχὶ Πάφος ταῦτα καὶ γῆ Κιτίου,
οὐχ ἡ πενιχρὰ Τριμιθουσίων πόλις;
οὐκ ἀέρος ζέουσα κακόπνους βύσις·
οὐχ ἀπαγωγὴ σωμάτων τεθνηκότων,
σωρηδὸν εἰς τύμβευσιν ἐκφορούμενων,
δποῖα πολλὰ καθορᾶν δσημέραι
πάρεστι τοῖς οἰκοῦσι τὴν Πτολεμαίου·
ἀλλ' ἡ πολυτίμητος, ἡ κλεινή πόλις.
δρῶ τὸν αἰθέριον, ἄπνουν ἵπποτην·
τὸν λιμένα βλέπω δέ, τὸν μυριόναν,
ἔκεινον αὐτὸν τὸν Θεοῦ καὶ τὸν δόμον,
τὸν ἀνθρακίαν τὸν λίθον, τὸν πυρράκην,
τὸν ἥλιωδη τὸν φεραυγῆ, τὸν μέγαν.

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⁹⁹ This passage makes clear that the composition of the poem was well-considered. The first poem starts with a dream with negative consequences; here reality looks like a dream but turns out to be a fortunate one.

¹⁰⁰ Though the second and third poem amply refer to Manasses' stay on Cyprus, only now do we hear about the region where he probably stayed, unless the names are to be considered geographical cliché's pointing to Cyprus. As to Trimythousians, one probably has to change Horna's text Τριμιθουσίων into Τριμυθουσίων (Trimythus was a bish-

Oh golden City in the land of Byzantines,
sun of the earth, whose beauty is inexhaustible,
how long shall I just see you only in my dreams?
Oh, may I, loved one, really see your splendours back,
may I, your brilliancy, see back your shining face!

105

Fourth poem

Oh arms, regain your strength, start moving now for me,
and legs, straighten yourselves, start dancing now for me;
oh tongue, let now burst out a hymn of gratitude.
Be happy, you too, thrice-afflicted heart of mine,
for really there I see in luminosity
my all-belovèd, prosperous town Byzantium!
But oh, what 's this? Am I misled here once again?
Is it not Cyprus where I stay, that bitter stench,
or Ptolemaïs, that so suffocating town
or Nazareth, which cordially I abhor?

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You, golden town, do I see you or a mirage?
Is it a vision in my sleep, smile of the night
or am I awake and see you clearly, not a dream?⁹⁹
But no! Not Paphos nor the land of Kition
nor that poor city of the Trimythousians!¹⁰⁰

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And not the whirling draught of a big howling storm,
not the removal of a quantity of men deceased
who are by heaps for burial carried out of town,
such as can be observed in day-to-day routines
by the inhabitants of Ptolemaïs town,

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but really this much-honoured city, famous town!
I see the horseman's lifeless statue in the air,¹⁰¹
but also the great harbour, with its countless ships,
and there that building which was built for God Himself
with stones as black as charcoal and with fiery red,
the sun-drenched, great illuminated holy church!¹⁰²

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opric), though Makhairas also mentions a place Τριμιθεία either in the Paphos region or = Grimithia, south-west of Lefkosia. See Leontios Makhairas, *Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled "Chronicle"*, ed. R.M. Dawkins, 2 vols (Oxford, 1932), II, §566, n. 2. I thank Prof. Metcalf for this suggestion.

¹⁰¹ Probably the statue of Constantine on the Constantine Market. An inscription mentions the fact that the Emperor Manuel had the capital repaired.

¹⁰² Doubtless a reference to the Hagia Sofia, though the description is somewhat impressionistic. Horna doubts whether the text is genuine.

τί, φεῦ, πέπονθα; ποῖ παρεπλάγχθην φρενῶν;
ώ πῶς τὸ συχνῶν τῶν δνείρων τῆς πλάνης
τὸ πιστὸν ἔξεκοψε τῶν δρωμένων;
ἔκεινος ὅντως <εστιν> δ γλυκύς τόπος,
ή τῶν μακάρων νῆσος, ή χρυσῆ πόλις.
ἔπει δὲ λοιπὸν πᾶς ἐλήλαται φόβος
καὶ τῶν δνείρων ή πλάνη τῶν νυκτέρων
καὶ φανερῶς ἔβλεψα τὴν Κωνσταντίνου,
ἐπαναλάβω τὴν διήγησιν πάλιν.

‘Υποστραφέντες ὑπὸ τῆς Ἰσαυρίας
καταλιπόντες τοῦ Δράκοντος τὰς δίνας,
δς δὴ ποταμός ἔστι τῆς Ἰσαυρίας,
ναὶ μὴν ἀφέντες καὶ Συκῆν τὴν ἀγρίαν,
τὴν παντομισῆ, τὴν κατάπτυστον πόλιν
(τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γὰρ βούλομαι παρατρέχειν),
ενρήκαμεν τὴν Κύπρον ἐπτοημένην
πολλοῖς ταραγμοῖς καὶ φοβήτροις ἄγριοις.
δ Τριπολίτης καὶ γὰρ δργῇ καχλάσας,
ώς ἐκπεσών δείλαιος ἔξ ὕν ἡλπίκει,
(ή γὰρ κριθεῖσα συζυγῆναι πρὸς γάμον
τῷ βασιλεῖ μου τῷ στρατηγικωτάτῳ,
ἐκ ταυτοαίμων ἐκφυεῖσα σπερμάτων
τῷ δυσκαθέκτῳ τὸ θράσος Τριπολίτῃ,
βασιλικῶν ἡμαρτε παστοπηγίων
ή χρυσέα γὰρ Ἀντιοχέων πόλις
τὸν τῶν Χαρίτων ὑπεμόσχευε κλάδον,
ἐπάξιον τελοῦντα τηλίκου γάμου,
κόρην χαριτόφθαλμον, εβοπτὸν κόρην,
ρηγεκγόνων βλαστῶσαν ἐκ διζωμάτων),
δ Τριπολίτης τοιγαροῦν θυμῷ ζέσας,
ἀνὴρ ἔκεινος ἵταμός, θράσος πνέων,
(καὶ τί γὰρ ή Λατīνος αὐθάδης νέος;) στόλον κροτήσας καὶ στολάρχας δπλίσας,
λεηλατεῖν ὥρμητο τὴν τῶν Κυπρίων,
ἄνθρωπος ἀλόγιστος, ὅστις οὐκ ἔγνω,
ώς οὐ κατισχύσειε γῆς βασιλέως’

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But what, alas, happens to me, where erred my mind?
Is it, that the deceit produced by many dreams
has thoroughly destroyed the truth of what is seen?
Indeed, this is indubitably the sweet place,
the happy island of the blessed, the golden town.
However, since my fear henceforth is fully banned
and all the errors of nocturnal dreams as well
and doubtless I saw back the town of Constantine,
I shall continue now the story which I told.

Returning on our journey over Isauria
and having left the eddies of the Drakon stream
- which is a river flowing in Isauria -
we left also behind us Syce in the wilderness,
a just all-hateful place, a cursed, damnable town,
we found (I like to skip the details, most of them)
that Cyprus was in trouble, being terrified
because of heavy turmoil and alarming scenes.¹⁰³

The Count of Tripolis apparently was mad,
due to the fact that what he hoped for just was gone
(the girl, considered worthy of a nuptial bond
with him, my very diplomatic emperor,
- for she was born out of the same seed and the blood¹⁰⁴
of this audacious and unbridled Tripolite -
had been passed over for the royal nuptial tie;
the golden city, namely, of the Antiochenes
had generated in her midst the grace-like child,
who was the right match for a such great marriage bond,
a maiden with beautiful eyes, attractive girl,
descendant from the roots of royal families).

This was the reason why the Tripolite seethed with rage,
that reckless man, a man who glowed with courage, too,
(what's full of stubbornness more than a Latin man?)
and he called up¹⁰⁵ the fleet and armed the admirals
and started looting the island of the Cypriots
clearly not knowing, thoughtless person as he was,
that conquest of imperial land was hopeless work,

¹⁰³ On this passage see my Introduction.

¹⁰⁴ “ἐκ ταυτοαίμων ἐκφυεῖσα σπερμάτων”. Cf. Manasses, *Σύνομης Χρονική*, 6123, “ἥσαν δ' αὐτῷ ταυτόαιμοι κάκ τῶν αὐτῶν σπερμάτων”.

¹⁰⁵ κροτήσας = συγκροτήσας, cf. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. De Boor (Leipzig, 1883; reprint Hildesheim, 1980), 47, 21, “σύνοδον ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐκρότησε”; 484, 26: “σύνοδον ... κροτηθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν et saepius”.

στρουθὸς γὰρ ἀπτέρωτος, ἐψιλωμένος,
εἰς ἀετιδοῦ καλιὰν πῶς ἔγγίσει;
νεβρὸς δὲ μικρὸς πῶς θροήσει τὸν μέγαν
ἐριβρύχην λέοντα, τὸν θηροκράτην;
τέως δὲ ταλαιπωρος εἶχε μὲν θράσος,
ἐπεσχέθη δὲ τῆς ρύμης καὶ τοῦ θράσους.
ἥμεῖς δὲ πάντες ἡμεν ἡπορημένοι,
κακοῖς καταξανθέντες οἴοις καὶ πόσοις,
οὐκ αἰσίου δὲ τοῦ τέλους τετευχότες,
ἔως δὲ πανσέβαστος ἥλθεν εἰς Κύπρον,
πολλοὺς διαδράς κινδύνους καὶ θανάτους,
καὶ τηνικαῦτα τῶν λυπηρῶν ἡ ζάλη
μετῆλθεν ἡμῖν εἰς γαλήνην, εἰς ἔαρ.
κάν τις ἀπιστῇ τὴν χαρὰν πολλὰ σθένειν,
ἀκουέτω μου καὶ μαθὼν πιστευέτω.
τὸ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ τοῦ χρόνου με συντρίβον,
τὸ φλεκτικὸν πῦρ τοῦ τεταρταίου δρόμου,
ώς τοῦ σεβαστοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν ἔγνω,
ἐδραπέτευσεν ἔξ ἐμοῦ παραυτίκα.
δι γοῦν σεβαστὸς πάντας εἰς ἐν ἐλκύσας,
ώσει τις ὅρνις τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρουθίοις
τὰς εὐκελάδους τῶν μελῶν συμφωνίας
ἐπισυρίζει καὶ πρὸς ἐν συναγάγῃ,
Θήρατρα καὶ παγίδας ἐκπεφευγότα,
ἐσάλπισε ξύνθημα τῆς ἐπανόδου
καὶ πάντες ὀρμήθημεν αὐτῷ συντρέχειν.
Οὐδὲν δὲ καινὸν οὐδὲ πόρρω τῆς τέχνης
παρεισενεγκεῖν καὶ γελοῖον τοῖς λόγοις·
τοῖς γὰρ λυπηροῖς καὶ γέμουσι τοῦ πάθους
καὶ χαρίεντα συγκεραννύειν δέον
καὶ ταῖς σκυθρωπαῖς ἱστοριογραφίαις
γελωτοεργοὺς παιδιὰς προσαγαγεῖν.
ἡ τῆς φρικώδους ἦν ἔορτῆς ἡμέρα
— πεντηκοστὴν καλοῦμεν αὐτὴν ἔξ ξθους —,
καὶ πάντες ἡμεν ἐν ναοῖς ἡθροισμένοι,

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¹⁰⁶ For ἀετιδής, "eaglet", see Trapp, *LBG*, s.v. Trapp, however, does not mention this instance.

¹⁰⁷ Θηροκράτης is a neologism, see Trapp, *LBG*, s.v.

¹⁰⁸ This statement is confirmed by William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, xviii, 31, who suggests that Kontostephanos and his delegation were lucky enough to find a ship that

for how will once a wingless sparrow who's stripped bare
approach the eyrie of an eaglet, young and strong?¹⁰⁶

A little fawn, how will he ever make afraid
a big, loud-roaring lion, king of all the beasts?¹⁰⁷

The miserable man showed courage for some time,
but he was forced to stop his violence and wrath.

In the meantime we all were shocked and without plan
struck as we were by various catastrophes

for which we could not find a good, opportune end
until had come to Cyprus his Highness himself,¹⁰⁸
who had escaped from many dangers, many deaths,
but from that moment on changed stormy miseries
for us into serenity and day in spring.

He, who mistrusts the power of what joy can do,
listen to me and having heard me be convinced!

The illness which had tortured me such a long time,
the burning fire of quartan fever with its heat,
as soon as it had seen his Highness's return
as if by magic left me alone immediately!

His Highness concentrated us onto one spot
just as a hen which calls together all her chicks
with the sonorous¹⁰⁹ timbres of her cackling sounds
and thus assembles them in one and the same place
after their being well escaped from net and trap;
thus he let sound the horn as signal for return
and we went all together gathering with him.

T is not absurd, nor contrary to rules of art
inserting something laughable into my words:
for it is necessary with the painful, grievous things
to mix also some pleasant story to enjoy
and writing gloomy, grumbling historiography
asks for the addition of some jokes to cheer it up.

It was the day of celebrating a big feast
- we name this feast traditionally Pentecost -
and all of us were gathered in our churches then

brought them to Cyprus: "inventa casu navicula in Cyprum se fecerunt deportare"; see also Horna, p. 317.

¹⁰⁹ εὐκέλαδος a.o. in Euripides, *Bacchae*, 160, "λωτὸς ὅταν εὐκέλαδος, ιερὸς ιερὰ παίγματα βρέμῃ".

τὴν ἐσπειρινὴν ἐκτελοῦντες θυσίαν.
 ἔτυχον ἐστῶς τῶν προθύρων πλησίον.
 εἰσῆθεν ὅλος, Κύπριος μὲν τῷ γένει,
 πάντας δὲ νικῶν ἀφροσύνῃ Κυπρίους.
 ἥγγισεν, ἥλθεν, ἐστάθη μου πλησίον·
 ἀπῶζεν οἶνον, συναπῶζε σκορόδουν.
 κάγῳ δὲ μιχθεὶς τὰς δίνας δυσοσμίᾳ
 (βδελύττομαι γὰρ τήνδε τὴν κακοσμίαν,
 ὡς τῶν κακῶν μου τὴν δυσώδη κοπρίαν,
 ὡς αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σατανᾶ τὸν τύπον)
 ἰλιγγίασα, λειποθυμεῖν ἥρξάμην·
 δὲ σκοτασμός, ἐμπεσών μου ταῖς κόραις,
 μικροῦ με πρὸς γῆν ἥδαφισεν ἡμίπνουν.
 εἴπον πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐντρανίσας ἥμέρως:
 «ἄνθρωπε, πόρρω στῆθι, μὴ προσεγγίσῃς.
 δζεις σκορόδουν, τοιγαροῦν μακρὰν φύγε·
 οὐκ ἵσχύω γὰρ πρὸς τὸ κακὸν ἀντέχειν.»
 ἀλλ' οὐ πρόσεσχεν, οὐκ ἀπέστη τοῦ τόπου.
 πάλιν προσεῖπον ἀγριωτέρῳ λόγῳ·
 «ἄνθρωπε, πόρρω στῆθι, μὴ σύμπνιγέ με·
 ὡς βόρβορον γὰρ ἐκπνέει σου τὸ στόμα.»
 ἀλλ' ἀσπὶς ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἀκοὰς βύσας·
 καὶ γὰρ τοσαύτην ἔσχε μου τὴν φροντίδα,
 ὅσην κάπρος κώνωπος ἡ μυίας λέων.
 οὐκοῦν συνιδών, ὡς περιττὸν οἱ λόγοι
 καὶ χρὴ τὸν ἄνδρα σωφρονίσαι παλάμαις,
 τὴν χεῖρα τείνας ἀνδρικῶς, εὐκαρδίως
 παίω τὸν ἄνδρα κατὰ κόρρης καὶ γνάθων
 πληγὴν θυμοῦ γέμουσαν ἀλκιμωτάτου·
 καὶ πρὸς τοσοῦτον ἤρτο βόμβον δ ψόφος,
 ὡς ἐντρανίσαι τῇ βοῇ τῇ τοῦ μέλους.
 οὕτω μόλις πέφευγεν δ σκατοφάγος.
 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο, κὰν μέμφοιτό τις.
 δ δ' εὐγενῆς τὰ πάντα καὶ καλὸς Δοῦκας
 πάντας μεθύσας δωρεαῖς δαψιλέστι

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attending there the service in the evening.
 It happened that I stood quite near the portico,
 when someone entered, obviously a Cypriot
 surpassing all the Cypriots in stupidity!
 He entered, came and stood just by my side,
 he stank of wine and stank of garlic yet much more,
 and I - my nose filled up by this mixture of stench -
 (I fiercely hate this kind of evil-smelliness
 which did remind me of my faeces, being ill,¹¹⁰
 or of the type of sulphurized Satan himself)
 grew dizzy and I threatened honestly to faint.
 The darkness which then took possession of my eyes
 did nearly throw me almost half-dead on the ground.
 I said to him casting a friendly look his way:
 "Man, please, go just a little further, don't approach.
 You smell of garlic, and therefore move far away,
 for I can't stand or such a mischief tolerate!"
 He did, however, not react, nor leave his spot.
 A second time I said to him, but louder now:
 "Man, please, go further just a bit, don't stifle me.
 Your mouth is breathing the same breath as breathes hell!"
 But he was the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear.¹¹¹
 He paid attention just as much to me as does
 a wild boar to a gnat or lion to a fly!
 Regarding any further word superfluous
 and sure the man to reason should be brought by force
 I clenched my fist courageously, and gave the churl
 stout-heartedly a heavy box just on the ear,
 a blow in which was concentrated all my wrath!
 The noise rose up to such a high sonority
 that he took note¹¹² of me on hearing crack his limb.
 This moment finally the dung-eater pissed off!
 This was what happened, though one may me blame for that.
 But Doukas, generous and nice in all respects,
 "made all of us drunk" with a plenitude of gifts¹¹³

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¹¹⁰ Horme interprets τῶν κακῶν as the genitiv of τὰ κακά, "die Exkrementa", as in Modern Greek. I disagree for two reasons: 1. If this was Manasses' intention the reading would have been τῶν κακῶν (for ἡ κάκκη, κακκάω, etc. see Aristophanes, *Pax*, 112, resp. *Nubes*, 1384, 1390). 2. It would be tautologic in respect to κοπρίαν, and in general contrary to his style.

¹¹¹ Psalm 57:5, "ὦσεὶ ἀσπίδος κωφῆς καὶ βυούσης τὰ ὄτα αὐτῆς".

¹¹² ὡς ἐντρανίσαι. For ἐντρανίζω see Trapp, *LBG*, "klar sehen", "hinsehen", "betrachten". He does not mention this place, where the meaning is rather look up, look at, take note of.

¹¹³ I literally translated Manasses' metaphor "πάντας μεθύσας δωρεαῖς δαψιλέστι". The short (first) ι of δαψιλέστι is metrically lengthened.

χαιροντας ἔξεπεμψεν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας.
 Ὡς πατρὸς υἱὲ καὶ σφραγὶς καὶ βραχίων,
 παμβασιλεῦ, ἥλιε δικαιοσύνης,
 ἔσωσας ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς Παλαιστίνης,
 ὃς Ἰσραὴλ πρὶν ἐκ χερῶν Αἴγυπτίων.
 οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς ἐν θεοῖς, ὃς σύ, Λόγε·
 σὺ ζῶν Θεὸς κράτιστος, ὑψιστος, μόνος,
 δ παντοποιὸς οὐρανοκράτωρ ἄναξ,
 ἥλευθέρωσας ἐκ Λατινικοῦ θράσους,
 ὃς πρὶν Δανιήλ, τὸν προφήτην τὸν μέγαν,
 ἐκ τοῦ φάρυγγος τῶν λεόντων ἐρρύσω.
 (τί γὰρ Λατίνων ἵταμώτερον γένος;) ἀναξ
 δ ναυστολήσας εἰς Βαβυλῶνος χθόνα
 πορθμεὺς δ καινὸς Ἀββακοῦμ δι' ἀέρος,
 ὃς τὸν Δανιήλ τὸν προφήτην ψωμίσαι,
 δμαλίσας μοι τὰς τρίβους παρ' ἐλπίδα,
 ἐναέριον ἵπποτην ἀπειργάσω.
 ἔξήγαγές με τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ παμβόρου
 Πτολεμαῖδος μυριοφονευτρίας·
 ἐκ Τριπολιτῶν τῆς πολίχνης ἐρρύσω
 καὶ Κυπρίων γῆς τοῦ κακίστου φρουρίου.
 ναὶ γὰρ βαρὺ φρούριον ἡ νῆσος Κύπρος,
 τεῖχος σιδηροῦν, γαλεάγρα πετρίνη,
 "Αἰδης ἄφυκτος, οὐκ ἔχων διεξόδους.
 δ δυστυχήσας συσχεθῆναι τῇ Κύπρῳ
 ἐκεῖθεν οὐκ ἀν ἐκπεράσοι ῥαδίως·
 ἀνπερ γάρ ἐν γῇ τὰς τρίβους ποιοῦτό τις,
 εἰς χεῖρας ἐγγίσειε τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων,
 ἀν μὴ Θεὸς ῥύοιτο καὶ διεξάγοι·
 ποῦ γάρ πετασθῇ; ποῦ κρυβεῖς διαδράσῃ;
 ἀν τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ πλάτος διαπλέοι,
 βαβαί, πόσων ἔστηκε κινδύνων μέσον;
 ἀνωθεν ἥχος πνευμάτων βαρυπνόων,
 κάτω βρυχηθμὸς κυμάτων ἀλλοιθρόων.
 ῥοχθεῖ τὸ κῦμα, πνεῦμα παφλάζει μέγα.
 τῶν ἐν θαλάσσῃ ληστρικῶν δὲ τοὺς φόβους

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and bade us a farewell and cruising speed to home.

Son of the Father, seal and strength of Your strong arm,¹¹⁴

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king of the universe and sun of righteousness,

You granted us deliverance from Palestine

as earlier from the hands of Egypt Israel!

No one is there among the gods like You, oh Word.¹¹⁵

The living, strongest, highest God are You alone,

140

Creator of all things, Master of heavens, Lord,

You liberated us from Latin recklessness

as You saved the illustrious prophet Daniel

in older days out of the lion's den and mouth

(for what shows more brutality than Latin man?).

145

You, who conveyed straight to the land of Babylon,

You wondrous ferryman, this Habakuk by air

in order that he bring some bread to Daniel,¹¹⁶

You also straightened unexpectedly my paths¹¹⁷

and made a horseman who is riding through the air.

150

You carried me away from the all-devouring fire

of Ptolemaïs with its high mortality.

You freed me from the city of the Tripolites

and from the awful fortress of Cypriot land.

Yes, certainly, that Cyprus is a heavy fort,

155

a wall of iron and a mouse-trap made of stone,

a Hades without any exit to escape.

He, whom misfortune hits, and sits on Cyprus trapped,

he will not find an easy way to fly from there.

160

If one would choose to make his travelling by land

he runs the risk of being caught by barbarous hands

unless he will be saved by God who leads him through.

For where to fly or where to hide for coming through?

But if he likes to sail the broad back of the sea,

alas, amidst how many dangers is his stead?

165

The roaring of the heavy tempests from above,

the lapping of disastrous waves clashing beneath,

the sea is blustering, the storm roars frantically,

but on the terrors caused by pirates out at sea

¹¹⁴ I read βραχίων instead of ms. βραχίον. For βραχίων see LSJ.

¹¹⁵ Psalm 85:8, "οὐκ ἔστιν ὅμοιός σοι ἐν θεοῖς, κύριε". Cf. also vs. 10.

¹¹⁶ This version of Daniel in the lion's den and his being fed by the prophet Habakuk is told in the Supplement to Daniel, "Bel et Draco" (14:) 31-39.

¹¹⁷ Referring to Jes. 40:3, Matth. 3:3 etc., "εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους (τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν)". In the verse that follows, Kontostephanos' role is compared with Habakuk's.

ποία λαλήσει γλώσσα καὶ ποῖον στόμα;
ώς κρεῖσσον εἰς πῦρ ἐμπεσεῖν τὸ θαυμάτων.
ἢ πρὸς κακούργους πειρατὰς θαλασσίους.
οὐαὶ πολυστένακτος ἄνθρωπος τάλας,
δισυσχεθείς, φεῦ, τοῖς ἐκείνων δικτύοις.
ἄνθρωπον οὐ τιμῶσι, καὶ μάννα βρέχῃ,
καὶ πῦρ κατάγῃ, καὶ δροσίζῃ καμίνους,
καὶ συγκαταθλᾶ τῶν λεόντων τὰς μύλας.
ζητοῦσιν ἀδροὺς ἀποδέσμους χρυσίων.
καὶ μὴ διδῷ τις, (ποῦ γὰρ εὑρήσει τόσους;) -
τῶν ὅρχεων κρεμῶσι, παίουσι ξύλοις,
δεσμοῦσιν ἴστοῖς καὶ χαλῶσιν εἰς ὕδωρ,
ἔως ἀπορρήξει τὴν ψυχὴν βίᾳ.
οἶμαι τὸν ἐμπλακέντα τοῖς τούτων βρόχοις
ἄλλοις ἵταμοῖς οὐδὲ δοθήσεσθαι τότε
ἐν τῇ φρικῷδει καὶ τελευταίᾳ κρίσει,
καὶ τοὺς τελώνας ἐν κακοῖς ὑπεκδράμη·
ἀρκεῖν γὰρ αὐτῷ πειρατῶν τὰς βασάνους.

Τὰς γοῦν τοσαύτας ἔκφυγὰν τρικυμίας
Θεοῦ κελεύσει καὶ προνοίᾳ καὶ κρίσει,
ἄν κατὰ νοῦν λάβοιμι βαδίσαι πάλιν
εἰς τοὺς ἀνίκμους τῆς Παλαιστίνης τόπους,
εἰ μὴ τις ἐλκύσει με πρὸς τούτους βίᾳ,
εἰς χεῖρας ἐμπέσοιμι τῶν ἀλλοθρόων.
Χριστῷ δὲ δόξα τῷ διεξάγοντί με
καὶ τηλικούτων κινδύνων σεσωκότι.

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whose tongue and mouth is able to describe these things?

Preferable the plunge into volcano fire¹¹⁸

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to capture by the wicked pirates of the sea.

For woe betide the miserable and poor man

who saw himself, alas, being a captive in their nets!

They don't even respect a man who manna rains,¹¹⁹

175

who can extinguish fire and cool a furnace down,

who knows to break to pieces lion's molars all.

They only do demand valises full of gold

and if one doesn't provide (for where to find that much),

they will then hang him by the balls, hit him with sticks,

tie him securely to the mast and keelhaul him,

180

until he will have lost his life, broken by force!

I think, the one who will be captured in their snares

he will be handed to no lesser hangmen than

the ones of that most fearful Judgement-Day,

even escaped as sinner from the evil ghosts:¹²⁰

185

the torments caused by pirates are more than enough!

Thus from these tides of miseries escaped

at the command and providence and will of God:

should I get in my head again the intention of

a travel to the dry regions of Palestine

190

- unless someone will draw me there with all his force-

then may I fall into the hands of foreigners!

But, well, glory to Christ who brought me liberty

and saved me from the dangers which thus threatened me.

¹¹⁸ I have made use of the ingenious (but doubtful) conjecture of Horna, ἡφαιστίων (better ἡφαιστείων). But perhaps one should read ἡ θηρίον, understanding "better to fall into a fire or (to meet with) a wild beast than...". Cf. Manasses, *Aristandros and Kallitheia*, frg. I, 7, "'Ἄλλ' ἦν οὐδέν, φῶς ἔσικε, χεῖρον ἀνδρὸς βαρβάρου, / οὐ πῦρ, οὐδὲ ὕδωρ, οὐδὲ θήρ, οὐδὲ θαλάττης χάσμα'". The double ἡ in different meanings could be a difficulty but also a rhetorical trick, and can have caused the corruption.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Psalm 77:24, "καὶ ἔβρεξεν αὐτοῖς μάννα φαγεῖν". The other examples refer

to the story of Daniel. For συγκαταθλᾶ cf. Athenaeus, viii, 348 f. (quoting Macho), "συγκατέθλα τὸ ποτήριον".

¹²⁰ Τοὺς τελώνας: allusion to the "publicans", who test the souls of the dead during their route to heaven. Cf. Vita Johannis Eleemonis, cap. 44, in Leontios de Néapolis, *Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, ed. A.J. Festugière and L. Rydén (Paris, 1974), p. 396, l. 100-1, "τί σύ, ταπεινὲ Ἱωάννη, ἔχεις εἰπεῖν ὅταν ἀπαντᾶσιν εἰς πρόσωπόν σου οἱ ὄμοι ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἀσπλαγχνοὶ τελῶναι καὶ φορολόγοι".

CONCLUSION

Manasses' poem is one of the few Byzantine documents which point directly to contacts between Byzantines and westerners in the Crusader States. On the one hand, we have to do with a document that is too personal to be informative about the real political relations between Constantinople and the western Middle East; on the other hand, the personal reflections of a person who did not bear political responsibility in this expedition gives a clear idea about the feelings of a Constantinopolitan intellectual with regard to regions outside the capital. In this respect his observations during the journey about the character of the places which were visited are very interesting. As a Christian, he is satisfied to have visited the Holy Places (and the manner in which he gives his report suggests that he indeed visited these places), but he reveals himself as a critical observer. At the same time it is clear that he suffered from homesickness, which became worse because of the very real diseases which afflicted him. One may assume that his negative view of Cyprus was influenced by his precarious health. Striking, however, is his outspokenness about the causes of his second illness. His attitude towards the westerners is, in a way, ambiguous. On the one hand, he is curious about and impressed by the girl who might be the prospective empress, on the other, he fiercely demonstrates the usual Byzantine arrogance towards foreigners in general and westerners in particular. As has already been remarked above, the fact that his report has been presented in the iambic trimeter suggests that Manasses wished to see his work as a classical messenger's report. He followed, of course, the Byzantine metrical rules, but proved, within these shackles, to be a very inventive linguist who succeeded in telling his story in an attractive and effective way.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

Aerts, "Das literarische Porträt"

W.J. Aerts, "Das literarische Porträt in der byzantinischen Literatur", in *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel VIII*, ed. H. Hofmann and M. Zimmerman (Groningen, 1997), pp. 151-95.

Horna

K. Horna, "Das Hodoiporikon des Konstantin Manasses", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 13 (1904).

Lampe

G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1991¹⁰).

LBG

E. Trapp, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität* (Vienna, 1994 ff.).

LSJ

H.G. Liddell, R. Scott and H.S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1940⁹).

Manasses, *Aristandros and Kallitheia*

Manasses, *Aristandros and Kallitheia*, in *Il romanzo bizantino del XII secolo*, ed. F. Conca (Torino, 1994).

Manasses, *Σύνοψις ἱστορική*

Manasses, *Σύνοψις ἱστορική*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1837).